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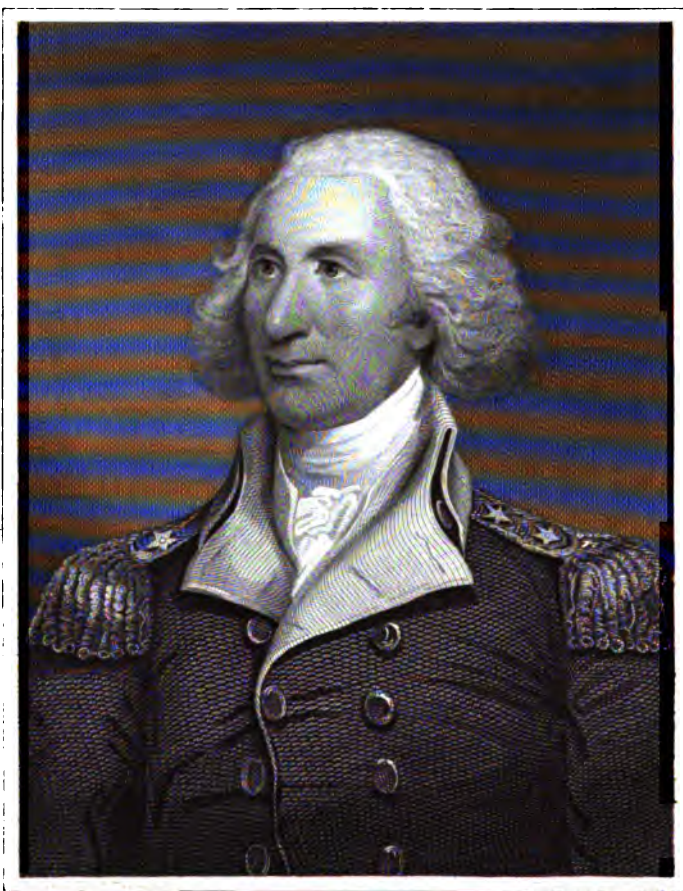
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MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Ph. Schuyler.

HISTORY

OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE

CONQUEST OF CANADA

IN 1776,

**FROM THE DEATH OF MONTGOMERY TO THE RETREAT OF THE
BRITISH ARMY UNDER SIR GUY CARLETON.**

BY

CHARLES HENRY JONES.

**PHILADELPHIA:
PORTER & COATES.
1882.**

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TO THE MEMORY
OF MY GREAT-GRANDFATHER,
LIEUT.-COL. JONATHAN JONES,
AND HIS COMPANIONS IN ARMS,
I DEDICATE THESE PAGES,
IN WHICH
THEIR TRIALS, SUFFERINGS, AND PATRIOTIC
SERVICES IN THE CAUSE
OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION
ARE RECORDED.

PREFACE.

OF the military movements on the Northern frontier during the Revolution, much has been written about the brilliant campaign of Montgomery in 1775, which terminated in his untimely death on the last day of that year. Much has also been written about the disastrous campaign of Burgoyne in 1777. The same attention has not been paid to the events of the intervening year of 1776, which, though less striking in their effects, were of the greatest importance to the cause. There is not anywhere, so far as I am aware, any detailed account of that long and severe campaign. Its salient features have been noticed by all historians in passing, and some of them have dwelt upon it with more or less minuteness, but I have nowhere been able to find a connected, reliable, and circumstantial narration of all its interesting and often distressing events. Such a history I have endeavored to give in the following pages. Another object I had in their preparation was to make a record of the services of the troops of Pennsylvania, whose conduct always contrasted favorably with that of their companions in arms from the other Colonies, and yet whose achievements have never received that recognition which they deserve.

It was a campaign in which the Pennsylvanians of that day were deeply and anxiously interested. Not less than two thousand of their fellow-citizens were actively engaged in it, and the friends and relatives they left behind them formed a large and influential part of the community. It should not, therefore, fail to possess interest for their descendants of the present generation.

My interest in the details of this campaign was first awakened by an examination of the materials connected with the military

services of my ancestor, Colonel Jonathan Jones, who passed through it from the beginning to the end. He was of Welsh extraction, his father, David Jones, having emigrated from Merionethshire, in Wales, in 1721, and settled upon the Welsh reservation at Radnor, in Chester county, Pennsylvania,



where that clannish people, to use their own language, "desired to be by themselves, for no other end or purpose but that they might live together as a civil society, to endeavor to decide all controversies and debates amongst themselves in a Gospel order, and not to entangle themselves with laws in an unknown tongue, as also to preserve their language that they might ever keep correspondence with their friends in the land of their nativity."

David Jones, with many of his countrymen, removed from Radnor in 1730 to the valley of the Conestoga, in Caernarvon township, Lancaster county, where he became an extensive land-owner and iron-master, and where there are old mines which still bear his name. Here his three sons—John, Jonathan, and Caleb—were born. John was a member of the Committee of Safety of Berks county, in 1774, and a major in Grubb's battalion of militia. Caleb was a justice of the peace.

Jonathan Jones was born in 1738. He was appointed a captain in the regular Continental army October 25th, 1775, was promoted to the rank of major, after active service in Canada, October 25th, 1776, and to lieutenant-colonel of his regiment, which had become the Second under the new arrangement, March 12th, 1777. His constitution was so shattered by the hardships and exposure of the campaign against Canada, that he was obliged to return home to recruit his health in the winter of 1776-77. Having partially recovered, he rejoined his regiment in the spring of 1777, the command of which devolved upon him after the resignation of Colonel James Irvine, June 1st, 1777. Two companies of the regiment were then on duty in Philadelphia, and the remainder were guarding the upper ferries of the Delaware. Increasing ill health, however, obliged him to resign his commission in the latter part of July. In

December, 1778, he was appointed by the Assembly of Pennsylvania a commissioner under the test laws, and he was a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, from Berks county, which sat in Philadelphia from October, 1779, to October, 1780. His health continued steadily to decline, and he was shortly afterwards stricken with paralysis, of which he died, after a lingering illness, on the 26th of September, 1782, at the early age of forty-four. He was buried in Bangor church-yard, at Churchtown, of which church his family had been wardens and vestrymen from its earliest foundation.

PHILADELPHIA, November, 1881.

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CAMPAIGN FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The News from Lexington and Concord—The Uprising throughout the Colonies—Mass-meeting at the State House, Philadelphia—Organization of Associators—Jonathan Jones' Company—The Rev. Thomas Barton and Bangor Church—Initiatory steps for Resistance to Great Britain—Major Philip Skene—Organization of the Regular Army—The Six Pennsylvania Regiments—William Irvine—William Allen—The Captains of the First Pennsylvania Regiment—Col. John Bull—Col. John Philip De Haas—Lt. Col. James Irvine—Major Anthony James Morris—The British Barracks at Philadelphia—Mounting Guard at the State House and along the Wharves—The Uniforms of the Pennsylvania Troops—Arrival of Martha Washington at Philadelphia—Lord Dunmore's Movements in Virginia—Philadelphia in the Winter of 1775-6.

THE courier who rode through the country with the news of the conflict at Lexington and Concord, reached Philadelphia in the evening of the 24th of April, 1775. He found the colonists, as he passed, prepared for the issue. Ten years of unredressed wrongs had gradually alienated their affections from the mother country. It was no rash or impetuous step they were about to take, but one which was the result of a slowly-formed and settled conviction that they would have to give up their liberties or defend them with their blood. The hearts of the patriots were beating in solemn anticipation of the crisis which they felt was near at hand, and it needed but the intelligence that forty-six of their countrymen had already fallen in the cause, to tell them what to do. The uprising which followed was prompt and general. Israel Putnam leaving his plow in the furrow

in Connecticut and riding in his farmer's garb to the camp, and John Stark hastening forward from his saw-mill in his shirt-sleeves, were but conspicuous types of the action of every patriot throughout the land. Everywhere there was a resolute rush to arms. In Philadelphia the excitement was intense. On the following day eight thousand people assembled in mass-meeting at the State House and resolved to form themselves into companies of Associators. This was the mode of organizing for defense which had prevailed extensively during the late French war. The province had never had a regular militia law, but relied upon this voluntary mode of organizing for defense as the emergency for it arose.

The startling news from Lexington and Concord was rapidly spread along the roads leading out of Philadelphia, by those who returned home from the city, and soon found its way throughout the province. Within a few days thereafter many companies of Associators were raised in the different counties of Pennsylvania. In Caernarvon township, Berks county, and the vicinity, a company was raised by Jonathan Jones, which he brought to a fair state of discipline before the month of May was over. The Rev. Thomas Barton, rector of Bangor Church, and missionary of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, preached to them upon the momentous issues of the hour, as did the other clergy to other troops in different parts of the province, who sought their advice and counsel. Mr. Barton had had the cure of souls at Bangor Church for twenty years, and the people were much attached to him, noted as he was for his learning, zeal, and fidelity. At this point, however, their paths, like the paths of so many others at that time, began to separate, slightly at

first, and within the bounds of toleration, but soon to diverge as widely apart as the causes of the crown and the colonies. He was obliged to close the church a few months later because the people would not allow him to use the liturgy unless he omitted the collects and prayers for the king and royal family. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and came to America as the missionary of the society in 1754. In 1764 he was chaplain of a British regiment. In 1777 he was accused of being privy to a conspiracy to destroy the public stores at Lancaster, York, and Carlisle, and with carrying on correspondence with the enemy, and was confined to the limits of the county, and finally to his own house at Lancaster. In 1778 he declined to take the test oath, and was granted a pass into the British lines at New York. He afterwards became chaplain to a British regiment in New York, and died May 25th, 1780.

The province of Pennsylvania had been thrown upon its own resources by the articles of association adopted by Congress in October, 1774, in pursuance of which the local committees of safety were formed. The committee of Berks county was organized at Reading, December 5th, 1774, with Edward Biddle as chairman and Dr. Jonathan Potts as secretary. Of this committee John Jones, brother of Jonathan, was a member from Caernarvon township. This measure of passive resistance, which prohibited importation and discouraged every species of dissipation and extravagance by their virtue, honor, and love of country, rapidly brought out the capabilities of the people to help themselves. Arms were scarce, but gunsmiths, of which there were many in the province, were employed to make them at Philadelphia, and nearly all the interior towns. Even as far west as

Bedford, a solitary gunsmith was toiling away at twenty-five muskets, or "fire-locks," as they were called at that time, with such assistance as he could obtain, and a saddler was engaged in shaping all the available leather he could procure into cartridge-boxes. Steps were also taken to import arms, gun-locks, and barrels. No sheep were killed in the province until after they were sheared in the spring, and active measures were taken for the manufacture of gunpowder.

Philip Skene, a British major on half-pay, after whom Skenesborough, at the head of Lake Champlain, was named, and who had lately been appointed Governor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, arrived most opportunely about this time at Philadelphia, in a vessel laden with arms, ammunition, and clothing for the British army. These were at once confiscated, and proved a most acceptable addition to the limited colonial supplies. Major Skene, Lieut. Moncrief, and Mr. Lundy, who accompanied him, were placed in arrest. Congress at once appointed a committee to examine their papers, the members of which were punctiliously put upon their honor to conceal whatever of a private nature might come to their knowledge by such examination.

The Governor and his fellow-prisoners were subsequently released upon their parole, with liberty to go anywhere within eight miles of the city, between the Delaware and Schuylkill, upon condition that they held no conversation with any one upon political subjects.

These, however, were but the initiatory steps which prepared the way for the real work of the Revolution. It was conceded that a regular Continental army was necessary. The militia were well enough in an emergency and for local protection, but for sustained movements

in the field against the disciplined troops of Great Britain, it was necessary that there should be a body of regular troops under the control of Congress, who should be dedicated exclusively to the duty of maintaining the common cause of American liberty, in whatever place their services should be required, without regard to colonial landmarks or local necessities. With this conviction, however, went the abiding prejudice of the colonists against standing armies as constant menaces to free government, and when Congress, in June, 1775, resolved to raise an army of fifteen thousand men, it limited the term of enlistment to a single year. For the mischief done the cause by allowing their usual foresight to be thus shortened by prejudice, it is but necessary to recall the distresses of the American army as these terms of enlistment began to expire.

Washington was made Commander-in-Chief. Four major-generals—Ward, Lee, Schuyler, and Putnam—were appointed, and eight brigadiers—Pomeroy, Montgomery, Wooster, Heath, Spencer, Thomas, Sullivan, and Greene. The Pennsylvania contingent was gradually provided for. Six companies of riflemen, afterwards increased to eight, under Col. William Thompson, were ordered to be raised in June, but it was not until October 12th that the first regular Pennsylvania regiment (then called battalion) of infantry was called out by Congress.

On the 25th of October the following captains of this regiment were appointed:—William Allen, Jonathan Jones, William Williams, Josiah Harmar, Marien Lamar, Thomas Dorsey, William Jenkins, and Augustine Willet. On the 9th of December, 1775, Congress ordered four additional regiments to be raised in Pennsylvania, and on the 2d of January, 1776, appointed Arthur St. Clair

colonel of the Second, John Shee colonel of the Third, Anthony Wayne colonel of the Fourth, and Robert Magaw colonel of the Fifth. On the 4th of January, 1776, Congress ordered still another regiment (the Sixth) to be raised, in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, and a few days later appointed William Irvine* colonel and Thomas Hartley lieutenant-colonel of this regiment. These six regiments composed the Pennsylvania Line until the army was re-organized on September 16th, 1776. when it was increased to twelve regiments. Of these six regiments, four—the First, Second, Fourth, and Sixth—took an active part in the movements against Canada. The other two (Shee's and Magaw's) were with Washington's army at New York, and distinguished themselves at Fort Washington, November 16th, 1776.

These six regiments consisted of eight companies (of sixty-eight privates) each. In January, 1776, William Allen was appointed lieutenant-colonel in the Second Regiment, commanded by Colonel St. Clair. He was the son of William Allen, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and the brother of Andrew Allen, who was Attorney-General, an early member of the Council of Safety, and member of the Continental Congress from Pennsylvania. Colonel Allen went to Canada with the Second Regiment, but when independence was declared, he resigned July

* WILLIAM IRVINE was born in Ireland on the 3d of November, 1741, and was a surgeon on board a British man-of-war in 1754. He emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1764, and settled at Carlisle. In 1774 he was a deputy from Cumberland county to the Provincial Convention, which met in Philadelphia July 15th, 1774. In January, 1776, he was appointed Colonel of the Sixth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, in the Continental army. He was taken prisoner at Three Rivers, and was not exchanged until May 6th, 1778. He was appointed Brigadier-General by Congress, May 12th, 1779, and commanded the Second Pennsylvania Brigade until the fall of 1781. He afterwards rendered valuable service on the western frontier, with his headquarters at Pittsburgh, and was a member of Congress in 1793. He died at Philadelphia, August 12th, 1804.

24th, 1776, and put himself, with his father and brothers, under the protection of Howe, at Trenton, in December, 1776, at a time when the cause of the colonies was considered by the faint-hearted as hopeless. When the British army occupied Philadelphia, Sir William Howe appointed him colonel, and authorized him to raise a regiment of loyalists in Pennsylvania. At the time of the evacuation, in June, 1778, he had only succeeded, after the most indefatigable exertions, in raising one hundred and fifty-two, rank and file. After the war he went to New Brunswick.

By the promotion of Allen, Jonathan Jones became the senior captain in the regiment, and Benjamin Davis, the first lieutenant in Williams' company, was elected captain in Allen's stead, on the 5th of January, 1776.

Of the captains who entered the First Pennsylvania Regiment at the time of its organization, a brief sketch of the career of Jonathan Jones has been given in the preface. Williams became major of the Second Regiment March 12th, 1777; lieutenant-colonel of the Third June 28th, 1778, and resigned April 17th, 1780. Har-mar was born in Philadelphia in 1753; became major of the Third Regiment October 1st, 1776; lieutenant-colonel of the Sixth Regiment June 6th, 1777, and as such continued in active service throughout the war. He was adjutant-general of the army under Greene in the South, 1781-2. After the declaration of peace he became lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Pennsylvania troops in the Continental service, stationed on the western frontier, which, at that time, was no more distant than the Ohio river. He was made brigadier-general July 31st, 1787, and commanded the expedition against the Indians on the Maumee in 1790. He resigned January 1st, 1792,

and died August 20th, 1813. Lamar became major of the Fourth Regiment September 30th, 1776, and was killed at the massacre of Paoli, September 20th, 1777, in the midst of the British, on the retreat. His last words were: "Halt! boys! Give these assassins one fire!" when he was instantly cut down by the enemy. Dorsey resigned January 1st, 1777, and was appointed paymaster of the militia of Pennsylvania on the 13th of August, 1777. Willet resigned from the service January 1st, 1777, and accepted a civil appointment. May 10th, 1780, he became major of the Fourth Battalion of Pennsylvania militia, and became lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment May 1st, 1783. Jenkins, who was a Philadelphian, left Ticonderoga in August, 1776, a few weeks after the regiment reached there from Canada, and resigned September 6th, 1776. Davis resigned his commission of captain on the 1st of January, 1777.

There was nothing in the service which could appeal to other motives than patriotism in those who responded to the call of Congress. The pay of a captain was only twenty dollars a month, with three rations, and the prospect that this small sum would be paid punctually was by no means encouraging. The active operations of the army at that time were under Washington before Boston, and under Montgomery in Canada, both at great distances from Pennsylvania, and neither the condition of the commissariat nor the public revenues gave promise of even the necessaries of a campaign.

On the 25th of November, Congress appointed John Bull colonel, James Irvine lieutenant-colonel, and Anthony James Morris major of the First Pennsylvania Regiment. Colonel Bull was a native of Montgomery county, and had been a captain in the military forces of

the Province in the French War of 1758. He was also conspicuous in the civil and military affairs of the province during the Revolution. On the 17th of January, 1776, the officers of the regiment presented a memorial to Congress, preferring charges against him, which were investigated by Congress, and resulted in his resignation on the 20th. On the 22d, Congress elected John Philip De Haas, of Lebanon, colonel of the regiment in his stead. This officer was born in Holland, about the year 1735, from whence he emigrated to America in 1750, and settled in Lebanon, Pennsylvania. He took an early part in the military affairs of the province, having been made an ensign at the age of twenty-three in the successful expedition against Fort Duquesne under General Forbes in 1758. His promotion was rapid through the grades of adjutant and captain to the rank of major, to which he was appointed June 9th, 1764, and assigned to the command of Fort Henry, in Bethel township, Berks county, which was the chief of a line of frontier fortifications between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. From there he marched with several companies to Pittsburgh in August of the same year, where he joined the army under Colonel Bouquet, and marched with it towards Sandusky in an expedition against the Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawnees. On the 31st of July, 1765, he was appointed justice of the peace at Lebanon. Congress appointed him a brigadier-general in the Continental army on the 21st of February, 1777, and he commanded a brigade in Washington's army at Morristown, New Jersey. He was afterwards stationed in Pennsylvania. In October, 1779, having retired from the army, he removed to Philadelphia to reside, where he died of gout on the 3d of June, 1786.

Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine was a hatter by trade, whose place of business was on Second street, opposite Christ Church.* When the Revolution broke out he became captain of a Philadelphia company of Associators. He was made colonel of the Ninth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, under the new establishment, October 25th, 1776, and became colonel of his old regiment, which had then become the Second, after Colonel De Haas was promoted. He resigned from the regular army on the 1st of June, 1777, and on the 26th of August, 1777, was made brigadier-general of Pennsylvania militia. On the 5th of December, 1777, Washington sent him with six hundred men, composing the Second Brigade of Pennsylvania militia, from his camp at Whitemarsh, to skirmish with the advance parties of the enemy under General Howe. He encountered them at the foot of Chestnut Hill, and, after a short conflict, in which he was wounded, his troops abandoned him, and he was taken prisoner. He was not exchanged until the 1st of June, 1781. He was appointed major-general of Pennsylvania militia, May 27th, 1782, and filled many important civil offices under the State government,

* The following reference is made to Colonel Irvine's trade by Major André, in his poem called the "Cow Chase." General William Irvine was a physician :—

" Which Irvine 'twas, Fame don't relate,
Nor can the Muse assist her,
Whether 'twas he that cocks a hat,
Or he that gives a glister.

" For greatly one was signalized
That fought at Chestnut Hill,
And Canada immortalized
The vender of the pill.

" Yet the attendance upon Proctor
They both might have to boast of;
For there was business for the doctor,
And hats to be disposed of."

among them that of vice-president. He died April 28th, 1819.

Major Morris was the grandson of Anthony Morris, Mayor of Philadelphia in 1703, and first cousin of Captain Anthony Morris, who was killed at Princeton. He was born in Philadelphia in 1740, was appointed Major of the First Pennsylvania Regiment November 25th, 1775, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the same regiment, October 25th, 1776, and to colonel of the Ninth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line on the 21st of February, 1777. He shortly thereafter retired from the service. On the 20th of October, 1779, when a large force of Pennsylvania troops was raised at the call of Washington, he was offered the position of Adjutant-General of the State, which he declined. He died at Philadelphia in 1831, at the advanced age of ninety-one years, and was buried in the Friends' burying-ground at Fourth and Arch streets.

On the 11th of January, Congress ordered the First Pennsylvania Regiment to the barracks at Philadelphia, where they were quartered until their departure for Canada. These barracks were built by the British after Braddock's defeat, and enclosed three sides of the square now bounded by Second, Third, Buttonwood, and Green streets. Along the Second street front there was an ornamental fence, and the open space of about three acres between the buildings was used as a parade ground. The barracks were of brick, two stories high, with a balcony throughout their entire length along the second story. The officers' quarters were in a large three-story building on the Third street side, where the Northern Liberties public school now stands. The barracks were separated from the city by a low marsh, across which

Second street was opened on a causeway which ran from them to the bluff on the south side of Pegg's run (now Willow street). It was about twenty minutes' walk from the State House to the barracks, and the people of the city, of all ages and conditions, whose interest was withdrawn from almost everything else, and concentrated upon the great events which were then transpiring, went out to the barracks frequently to witness the drilling and parade of the troops.

Twice a day detachments were marched down Second street past old Christ Church, into town, with fife and drum, to mount guard at the State House (where Congress was then in session) and the wharves along the river front. The wings and yard of the State House contained large quantities of ammunition and artillery stores, and at the wharves there were a number of vessels and such materials of war as the infant colonies had been able to collect, much of it contributed by private citizens.

On the 4th of November, 1775, Congress had resolved that the cloth for the army "should be dyed brown, and the distinctions of regiments made in the facings." The uniform coats of the First Pennsylvania Regiment were brown with buff facings. Those of the Second, Fourth, and Sixth Regiments were blue; those of the Second and Sixth had red facings; those of the Fourth were faced with white. They were all made after the familiar Continental pattern. The troops wore waistcoats, knee-breeches, and stockings, the last covered up with leggings at that season of the year. They were also provided with mittens, knapsacks, and haversacks of Russian duck, and wooden canteens. Each man was also armed with a tomahawk. They had their regimental colors, and each

company its drum and fife. The officers and men wore their hair powdered and tied up in cues, and shaved their faces clean.

Martha Washington reached Philadelphia about this time on her way from Mount Vernon to join the General at Cambridge. She made the long journey in her own carriage, with four horses and out-riders in livery, accompanied by her son, Mr. Custis, and his wife. The "Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse," an organization still existing, and the officers of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, met her at the Schuylkill ferry and escorted her into the city, where she remained some days, and upon her departure they escorted her out of the city on her way to New York.

Towards the close of November, there came a cry for assistance from Virginia. The committee of Northampton county became alarmed at the movements of Lord Dunmore, who had declared martial law in that province, and asked assistance from Congress. Lord Dunmore was on board the ship *William*, with a fleet of four ships, carrying from sixteen to twenty-two guns each, and a number of sloops, schooners, and boats. The coast was at his mercy. He had armed two hundred slaves of Norfolk and Princess Anne counties, who had joined him under promise of their freedom. The inhabitants of those two counties generally were renouncing the Colonial authority, and returning, by new oaths, to their old allegiance to the king. The peninsula of Accomac and Northampton, across the Chesapeake, with its eighty miles of coast, and its navigable rivers and creeks, was particularly exposed to Lord Dunmore's fleet. Its harvest had just yielded half a million bushels of wheat, which was much needed by the British army, then closely

besieged by the Continental army under Washington in Boston. The slaves outnumbered the whites two to one. It had no military organizations, and its people were not accustomed to bear arms. The property-holders were well disposed towards the cause of the Colonies, but they hesitated to declare themselves without the protection of armed authority, and some prospect that the cause could be sustained. They were not able to obtain relief from the western shore of Virginia with the fleet in the bay, and even there ammunition was very scarce. In this alarming state of affairs, the committee (by no means confident that they would not be delivered up to Lord Dunmore without resistance) laid their situation before Congress, and Congress immediately took measures to procure armed vessels for the destruction of Dunmore's fleet, and on the 4th of December ordered Jonathan Jones' company, and two others of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, to march immediately, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine, "into Northampton county, Virginia, for the protection of the association in those parts, and for the defense thereof against the designs of the enemies of America."

These companies were not as yet equipped, however, for this expedition, and on that account their departure was delayed for several weeks.

On Sunday, the chimes of old Christ Church were distinctly heard at the barracks, and the officers of the regiment often went in and sat in the cold church, where there were no stoves, to hear Bishop White, who was then assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and the Rev. Jacob Duché, the chaplain of the first Congress, preach.

These were times of great excitement in Philadelphia.

It had been selected as the capital of the United Colonies, and became the temporary home of their representative men, the weight of whose presence naturally strengthened the cause, which was popular and powerful already. Those who were bold enough to oppose it were treated with great intolerance by the mob. They carted Hunt and Kearsley ignominiously through the streets. Those who, from prudence or hostility, were reserved in their conduct, were made as uncomfortable as possible. It was the centre of Colonial power, and of communication with all sections. News came in slowly over the wretched roads, but when it did come, it was received with avidity by the crowds who assembled at the inns and coffee-houses. The newspapers were small and heavy, and did little else than retail a few items of general news second-hand. Lint-scraping became the fashionable employment of ladies at social gatherings called for that purpose. Their hands were also apt at the distaff and the reel, and the yarn spun by them was knit into stockings for the troops. Business of every kind was very much depressed. The prevailing topic for discussion in society, the counting-house, the streets, the courts, and the press, was the wrongs of the Colonies, and the measures which were then rapidly going forward for their redress. There were town meetings, and the battalions of Associators which constantly paraded the streets added to the military enthusiasm. The sound of martial music nearly always filled the air.

CHAPTER II.

Solicitude of Congress for Affairs in Canada—Schuyler calls for Reinforcements—Congress orders the First Pennsylvania and Second New Jersey Regiments to Canada—William Maxwell—Reinforcements from the Eastern Colonies—March of Jonathan Jones' Company for Canada—Their stay in Albany—Arrival of Sir Henry Clinton at New York—Mutiny at Albany—Traversing the frozen Lakes—Distressing condition of the Army before Quebec—Small-pox among the Troops—A Futile Attempt by Mr. Beaujeu to relieve the Garrison—Erection of Batteries and opening fire upon the Town—Arrival of General Wooster at Quebec—Departure of Arnold.

HOSTILITIES had begun in Massachusetts, and Washington's army was closely besieging the British army in Boston. But of far greater solicitude to Congress was the situation of affairs in Canada. Sir Guy Carleton, the British governor, had been appointed commander of the British forces in Canada, on the 2d of August, 1775, and had made an unsuccessful effort to induce the Canadians to espouse the British cause. They were disposed to be neutral, with a strong leaning toward the cause of their sister colonies. The union of the colonies was deemed imperfect by Congress without the co-operation of Canada. From the beginning to the disastrous evacuation of that country, Congress, remembering the bloody incursions which the French and their Indians had periodically made for a century and a half into the northern provinces, clung tenaciously to the belief, as the English had done in the French wars before them, that the freedom and repose of the colonies could never be secure with Canada in hostile hands on their border. To this end Congress had sent Schuyler to occupy it, trusting not so much to military conquest as to friendly persuasion of a favorably-inclined

people, under the assurance of protection by armed force; but later, when the chances of success seemed desperate, and the Canadians became estranged from the cause, they continued to strain every nerve and drain every resource for its conquest, whether by friendly or hostile means.

Schuyler became ill before the work of the expedition had fairly begun, and was obliged to return to Ticonderoga, when the command devolved upon Montgomery.

Early in December, Montgomery's triumphant march was arrested by the walls of Quebec. His success up to that point had been so easy and brilliant, that the unexpected check he received there was doubly discouraging. Disappointed in the escape of Carleton from Montreal, when his capture seemed imminent, his troubles seemed to begin with that event. Carleton, disguised as a Canadian traveler, had eluded Montgomery's batteries and guard-boats under cover of the night, in a boat rowed by six peasants with muffled oars. The influence of his presence afterwards within the walls of Quebec, and the extreme measures of discipline adopted by him, contributed more than anything else toward Montgomery's failure and death.

On the 6th of January, 1776, Congress received a letter from General Schuyler, who commanded the Northern Department, with headquarters at Albany, urging them to send large reinforcements into Canada. "Strain every nerve to send a large corps of troops down the instant the lake is passable," General Montgomery had written to Schuyler, from Quebec, on the 26th of December; "it is of the utmost importance we should be possessed of Quebec before succors can arrive; and I must here give it to you as my opinion, and that of several sensible men acquainted with this province, that we are not to expect

a union with Canada till we have a force in the country sufficient to insure it against any attempt that may be made for its recovery." Five days after this letter was written, the attack upon Quebec failed, and Montgomery was killed.

Congress did not wait until the "lake was passable," as Montgomery had suggested, but responded promptly to General Schuyler's demand for reinforcements. On the 8th of January they revoked the order for the three companies of the First Pennsylvania Regiment to march into Virginia, and ordered the whole of the regiment, and Colonel William Maxwell's* Second New Jersey Regiment to march immediately to Canada. The fate of Montgomery's army and his death were not known in Philadelphia until the 17th. The First Pennsylvania Regiment, was delayed in marching long enough, however, to learn that news, which cast such a deep shadow of gloom over the colonies, and the nature of the errand on which they were going. The remnant of Montgomery's army before Quebec, when these orders were given, did not exceed seven hundred men, and with that little force Benedict Arnold, who had succeeded to the command, was keeping up the siege until reinforcements should arrive.

The First Pennsylvania Regiment was ordered to march by companies, one day apart; but there was so

* WILLIAM MAXWELL had been in military service since the French War of 1758. He was appointed Colonel of the Second New Jersey Regiment in the Continental army, November 7th, 1775, and was made Brigadier-General by Congress, October 23d, 1776. He commanded a brigade in Washington's army at Morristown. He also commanded the Light Infantry at the Battle of Brandywine, and was the first to engage the vanguard of the enemy on the west side of Chadd's Ford. He was at the Battle of Germantown, and with the army at Valley Forge. After the evacuation of Philadelphia, his were the first troops detached by Washington to harass the march of the enemy. He was conspicuous for his gallantry at the Battle of Monmouth. He resigned his commission on the 25th of July, 1780, and died November 12th, 1798.

much unavoidable delay in fitting them out for so long and severe a journey, that Congress, on the 19th of January, ordered such companies as were ready to proceed without further delay. As it was, it was necessary for the committee to go around the city of Philadelphia from house to house in order to procure from the inhabitants the necessary blankets for the use of the troops.

The failure of the attack upon Quebec and the death of the lamented Montgomery had put a new phase upon the condition of affairs in Canada. Washington, who had heretofore been sanguine of important results from the expedition, and had watched every movement with the greatest interest and solicitude, now began to harbor forebodings of the most disastrous consequences, not only to the colonial cause in Canada, but to the province of New York, whose geographical position between the eastern and southern provinces made it a most important link in the chain of colonies.

Schuyler, in his letter to Washington announcing the fall of Montgomery, proposed that he should send with all possible dispatch a reinforcement of three thousand men from his army into Canada by the way of Onion river and Lake Champlain. But recruiting in Washington's army was so slow after his first army had been dissolved, that it was even necessary to call out five thousand militia to protect his own lines, and the greater part of these had gone home. He was far from being in a condition, therefore, to send troops to Canada. "In short," he replied to General Schuyler, on the 18th of January, from Cambridge, "I have not a man to spare." But in view of the necessity for prompt action in Canadian affairs, he called a council of general officers, which was attended by John Adams and other members of the

General Court of Massachusetts. This council determined to call upon New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut for one regiment each of Continental troops for service in Canada, to be enlisted for one year. In order to avoid expense, it was resolved that the three regiments for Canada should be taken from the thirteen regiments of militia which the neighboring colonies had been requested to furnish Washington with, by a council of war held two days before, to serve until April 1st, in order that "a bold attempt to conquer the ministerial troops in Boston" might be made. The three colonies responded promptly to Washington's call for troops for Canada. New Hampshire furnished a regiment commanded by Colonel Timothy Bedel, Massachusetts a regiment commanded by Colonel Elisha Porter, and Connecticut a regiment commanded by Colonel Charles Burrell. Indeed, the requisition upon Connecticut had been anticipated by that province. As soon as Governor Trumbull received intelligence of the repulse at Quebec, he convened the Council of Safety, and they promptly resolved to raise a regiment of seven hundred and fifty men to reinforce the army in Canada.

Congress subsequently approved of Washington's course in this matter, and commended him highly for the zeal and prudence displayed in his prompt action. They also directed that the thirteen regiments of militia for the army at Cambridge should not be diminished, but that the three regiments for Canada should be raised in addition to them, and the Continental army increased to that extent.

With the sending of these reinforcements Washington's hopes for the cause in Canada revived, and he again appeared confident that the city of Quebec would fall

into the possession of the Americans, and the entire conquest of Canada be completed during the winter.

On the morning of Tuesday, January 23d, 1776, Jonathan Jones began his long march of six hundred miles with his company of eighty-three men.* The weather was intensely cold. The winter was one of great severity. The snow at Quebec, which was their destination, was then six feet deep. They marched in high spirits to the music of their fife and drum, amid the cheers and parting salutations of the people, who were gathered along the road to witness their departure. They had one baggage wagon, but no tents, and depended upon such lodgings and provisions as their quartermaster, Jacob Shallus, who had preceded them, could procure on the road. General Charles Lee wrote from New York to Washington, at Cambridge, that they were "good and strong in numbers."

A journey to Canada at that early day was an arduous undertaking under the most favorable circumstances. In midwinter it was terrible. The roads were bad and the greater part of the way was through a wilderness which was uninhabitable at that season of the year. Even the best parts of the country were but sparsely settled, and afforded very limited accommodation for so large a body of men.

They marched through Germantown and Chestnut Hill to Bethlehem, and from thence to Easton, where they crossed the Delaware on the ice, and took the easternmost route to the Hudson, through Oxford, Walpack, Sussex Court-House, Goshen, and Wallkill, seeking such shelter as the thinly-settled, uncultivated country afforded,

* Williams', Dorsey's, Jenkins', and Davis' companies followed within a week. Harmar's, Lamar's, and Willet's companies did not march until spring.

and bivouacking under the protection of the pine forests, when they could find none.

From Goshen, in New York, the lower counties of Orange and Ulster transported them on sleds to Albany, at the public expense. Had it not been for the relief thus afforded them, they could not have made the march without greatly increased suffering to the men and serious loss to the service. As it was, they made the arduous journey from Philadelphia to Albany in the short space of eleven days. Their shoes, moccasins, and mittens were worn out, and their arms rendered unfit for use by exposure. They reported to General Schuyler, one of the most sagacious and patriotic officers of the Revolution, distinguished alike for the best qualities of a soldier and a man, who when twice removed from his command through sectional jealousy and intrigue, was able to bear the unmerited indignity with patience. "I am incapable" said he, "of sacrificing my country to a resentment, however just; and I trust I shall give an example of what a good citizen ought to do when he is in my situation." Whether in or out of authority he continued untiring in his efforts for the cause of his countrymen, willing to trust his fame to them and their posterity. Time has richly rewarded his forbearance. The motives of his detractors have long since been fully understood, and as the fame of Schuyler has increased, theirs have paled before it.

These troops were obliged to remain in Albany for several days until they were refitted with the necessary articles they required, as well as General Schuyler's limited stores would permit. Albany was then a small town with less than three thousand inhabitants, who still spoke the Dutch of their ancestors, and very little

English. The houses were built as is the fashion in Holland, with their gables toward the street. During their short sojourn at Albany, refugees from the city of New York reached there with intelligence that Sir Henry Clinton had arrived there from Boston. Tryon, the British governor of New York, had already taken up his quarters on board a British man-of-war in the harbor, and between the two, it was expected by the panic-stricken inhabitants that the city would soon share the fate of Falmouth and Norfolk. Clinton's departure from Boston, however, had been anticipated by Washington, who detached General Lee with instructions to raise troops in Connecticut, proceed to New York, and frustrate any designs which Sir Henry might have on that place. Sir Henry, not encouraged probably by his survey of the situation, disclaimed any intention of attacking the town, and withdrew as he had come leaving them unmolested.

The companies of Captains Jones, Dorsey, Davis, Williams, and Jenkins, with Lieut. Col. Irvine, and Major Morris, were all of the First Pennsylvania Regiment that reached Albany in time to cross the lakes before the ice began to break up. The remaining three companies, with Colonel De Haas, and the rifle company of Captain John Nelson, which was also attached to the regiment, were delayed until spring, and did not reach Canada until the last of April, too late to join the army before Quebec.

The foretaste of the hardships of war which their bleak and inhospitable march to Albany had given the First Pennsylvania Regiment, was too much for some of the more unruly spirits among them. As they looked forward from their comparative comfort at Albany to the

still greater hardships that were before them in the wilderness and on the frozen lakes beyond, murmurings of discontent arose from some of the men, which soon broke out into open mutiny. In addition to the privations and sufferings of their march, they justly complained that their pay was withheld from them. General Schuyler, who was a rigid disciplinarian, caused them to be immediately placed under arrest, tried the ringleaders by court-martial, and promptly punished them.

Biscuits and hard bread were baked at Fort George and Ticonderoga, in anticipation of their coming, and pork was dressed and put in a portable shape, for they could expect nothing on the way which they did not carry with them.

By the middle of February, they set out from Albany. At this time there were no roads on either side of Lake Champlain. The country on the western shore was an uninhabited wilderness, and there were but few settlements to the east.

The main highway from the south into Canada was up the Hudson and over Lakes George and Champlain. *Canaderi-Guarúnte*, "the lake that is the gate of the country," was the expressive name by which the latter was known in the Indian tongue. These lakes were traversed by the troops over the ice during the severe winter months, and in boats at other seasons of the year. The boats used by them were thirty-six feet long and eight feet wide, drawing about one foot of water when loaded, and carrying from thirty to forty men each. They were rowed by the soldiers, and were provided with a mast to which a blanket might be fixed if the wind was favorable. All communication was cut off while the ice was forming in the early winter and while it was breaking up in the early spring.

Sleds were provided by the committee of Albany to carry the companies of the First Pennsylvania Regiment on the ice up the Hudson, which often served the double purpose of transportation by day, and bedsteads during the long February nights. They passed within sight of Schuyler's baronial mansion, which was burned by Burgoyne in his retreat the following year. At the ruins of Fort Edward, they found comfortable accommodations in a large inn for the night, but this, and Wing's tavern seven miles further north, and the rough barracks which had been erected inside the ruins of Fort George on the lake of that name, afforded the exceptional instances of shelter by day or by night.

At Wing's tavern (now Glens Falls) they took final leave of the Hudson, and crossed through the snow to the head of Lake George. The distance was only eight miles, but it lay through a dense pine forrest, and was accomplished with suffering and considerable difficulty. At its end they stood on an eminence with the grand scenery of the ice-bound lake below them.

They slept that night in the rude barracks of Fort George, which had been hastily constructed of rough planks inside the ruined walls of the fort; and in the early morning of the following day, they continued their journey in high spirits over the frozen lake, part of the time in their sleds, and part on foot, to quicken the circulation of the blood when they were benumbed by the cold.

From the landing-place at the foot of Lake George they took the short road of three and a half miles to Lake Champlain, crossing the strait which unites the two lakes on a bridge below the waterfall (which was hedged in with banks of frozen spray), and ascending the hill beyond to the old French lines, where remnants of the logs

still remained that had been saturated with the blood of Abercrombie's men eighteen years before. This spot became familiar to them under different auspices, a few months later, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter. The ruins of old Fort Ticonderoga stood a quarter of a mile below in full view, to their left—used then only as a magazine for military stores—and over its crumbled ramparts they obtained their first view of the milder scenery of Lake Champlain.

The remainder of their journey was made on foot. It was difficult to obtain sleds for the long journey into Canada, on account of the great scarcity of forage for the horses and oxen, and the few that could be obtained were required for the transportation of cannon and provisions. Sufficient oxen could not even be procured, on account of the scarcity of forage, to transport cannon on the 27th of March from Half Moon to Fort George.

It was an inhospitable, inclement, and inglorious region. Lafayette wrote of it two years later, when he had been assigned to the command of an expedition against Canada:—"Lake Champlain is too cold for producing the least bit of laurel; and if I am not starved, I shall be as proud as if I had gained three battles."

Despite their discouraging surroundings they continued their march in high spirits over the ice and snow of the lake, for one hundred and thirty miles, to St. John's, on the Sorel river, keeping close to the western shore, and facing the bitter winds which blew up the lake without resistance from the North. Their ranks were thinned by desertion and disease. Their arms and accoutrements were sadly the worse for wear and exposure. In addition to their bodily sufferings they were struggling against the mental depression which was then settling down

upon all who were friendly to the cause, occasioned partly by the reverses in Canada which they were then marching to retrieve, partly by the machinations of the Tories in New York from which they had just come, and partly by the long inaction of the Continental army before Boston.

On the lake they passed Captain Marinus Willett on his way to Albany, in charge of a number of British officers and their families, who had been taken prisoners by Montgomery.

The officers found shelter for the first night at Faris', on the east side of the lake, below Crown Point, and later at McCaully's; but generally, as the long winter nights closed in upon them, they kindled fires upon the shore with hemlock branches, constructed rough tents, and made their beds with the same materials. They were grateful even for this rude hospitality of the forest, and slept well after their fatiguing march. After they passed Cumberland Head, the ground became low, and even the comfort of cedars and hemlock trees was denied them. They were entirely without shelter until they entered the Sorel river, where they obtained refreshment at a poor inn then known as Stodd's tavern.

At length they reached St. John's, where the soldiers were quartered in the barracks which Montgomery had taken from the British garrison in the preceding September. The officers crossed the river to a tavern kept by a French woman named Donaho, who, upon learning that they were from Pennsylvania, had many inquiries to make after her husband, who was then a prisoner of war in that province.

From St. John's they marched for eighteen miles to La Prairie, over a road of the worst possible description,

across the strip of ground which divides the St. Lawrence from the Sorel. As they neared the banks of the St. Lawrence, the cheerful signs of civilization, to which they had long been strangers, began to reappear, in the distant view they obtained of Montreal and the comfortable homes that lined the banks of the river as far as their eyes could reach. Weary, frost-bitten, and foot-sore as they were, this sight was a most welcome one and had a most exhilarating effect upon their spirits.

From La Prairie they crossed the river to Montreal, which then contained less than sixteen hundred houses, surrounded by a wall pierced with loopholes for cannon and fire-arms. Three-fourths of the inhabitants were French. They reported to General David Wooster, who had been left in command of the garrison of that city by General Montgomery when he marched against Quebec. He was then in command of all the American forces in Canada, having succeeded to that position upon Montgomery's death.

The five companies of the First Pennsylvania Regiment remained in Montreal for a fortnight to recuperate, and then continued their march for Arnold's camp. Arnold had been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general by Congress, in January, for gallant services in the attack upon Quebec. The St. Lawrence was too full of floating ice to admit of water transportation, so they were obliged to take the road down its north-western bank. A post had been established at Three Rivers, half-way between Montreal and Quebec, under Derrick Swart, Deputy Commissary-General, to aid the transportation of the reinforcements, and they were furnished from there with a few horses and sleighs. At this place Monsieur Pallasier had a furnace, from which he promised to supply the army



Dau, Wooster

with shot and shell, but owing to the want of coal he was prevented from doing so until after the army was obliged to retreat. They arrived at Quebec toward the close of March, where, after a dismal journey, they found a most dismal and discouraging state of affairs. There was still five feet of snow upon the ground, through which the tops of the fences were just beginning to appear. The little army had slowly increased in numbers to two thousand five hundred men, of whom two hundred and eighty-four were all that remained of the brave fellows who accompanied Arnold in his suffering and perilous expedition into Canada through the wilderness by the way of the Kennebec and Chaudière rivers. A very large part of this army had enlisted only until the middle of April, and nearly one-third were down with the small-pox. This scourge, which had made its appearance late in February, was said to have been introduced into the camp by a girl who had been a nurse in the hospital at Quebec, and had come out among the troops. It was confined chiefly, however, to the New England troops. Vaccination had not then been discovered, and inoculation, which was no less than spreading the disease in a milder form, but in all its objectionable features, had been positively prohibited. Yet the New England troops, regardless of the safety of the army, and in direct violation of orders, secretly inoculated themselves. The inhabitants of the vicinity of Quebec had been removed by Arnold into the country, and every other precaution was taken by him to prevent the spread of this loathsome disease. Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, it continued steadily to increase, until it had prostrated nearly half the army.

The sick suffered for the want of medicine, as did the well for nearly every necessary thing. Scarcely a month's

provisions were on hand, and the prospect of increasing the store was by no means encouraging, as there was nothing to send them from below, and the colonial credit was exhausted. The inhabitants required payment in specie for everything they furnished.

Arnold, who had only partially recovered from the wound in his leg which he had received in the assault upon Quebec, was disappointed and discouraged at the tardiness and paucity of his reinforcements and supplies. What troops he had were in good spirits, but he was without competent artillerists and engineers. Neither had he the men, the guns, nor the ammunition, with which to undertake the reduction of the strong fortifications of Quebec, and his troops were too few in number to attempt an escalade. His only hope was that the garrison would surrender from want of supplies, and to this he clung with the tenacity of despair.

His inadequate force was distributed along a line encircling the besieged city, twenty-six miles in length, including three ferries, over a wide and rapid river, one above the town, and the other two by the way of Orleans Island, below it. This slender cord of poorly-armed men had encircled the city (with its cold walls frowning down upon them) for three months, completely cutting off all communication, yet no attempt had been made to break it. Every means had been resorted to by the Americans to provoke the garrison into a conflict in the open country, but in vain. They preferred the security of their fortifications. The greater part of the suburbs of St. Roque and St. John's had been burned to prevent the inhabitants from using the houses for fuel, of which they stood in great need, yet no attempt was made to save them.

Through his emissaries, Carleton had endeavored to persuade the Canadians to arm and come to his relief, but with little success. In March, a small party of them, led by Mr. Beaujeu, concentrated about eighteen miles below Quebec for that purpose. When Arnold learned of their movements, he sent Lieutenant Hughes with a party of Pennsylvania troops to disperse them. They soon fell in with their advanced guard. A short skirmish ensued, in which a number of Canadians, including a priest, were killed, and a number of others wounded. The main body was dispersed, and a number of prisoners brought back to the American camp.

On the 4th of April, a battery of three twelve-pounders and one eight-inch howitzer was opened at Point Levi, on the opposite bank of the St. Lawrence, below Quebec. This battery occupied the site of one of General Robert Monckton's batteries in 1759, and commanded the shipping in the river. On the 23d of April, another battery of one twenty-four-pounder, four twelve-pounders, two six-pounders, and two howitzers was completed on the Heights of Abraham behind the town, and within four hundred yards of its walls. There was another small battery of two guns and one howitzer, called Smith's battery, on the opposite bank of Charles river. The fire from these batteries upon the city, owing to the scanty supply of ammunition, was feeble and without any decided results. The enemy fired ten shots to their one, most of them from thirty-two and forty-two pounders. During most of this time, however, General Carleton and the garrison of Quebec slept in their clothes, in constant anticipation of an attack from the Americans.

General Wooster left Montreal for Quebec on the 27th of March, and reached there on the 1st of April, when

he immediately assumed the command of the army. Arnold, always sensitive and impulsive, felt that he was not consulted by Wooster as he should have been. He was chagrined at the loss of his command, and discouraged by the weakness and deplorable condition of the army, which had not enabled him to do more than maintain the blockade. His horse had fallen with him on the 2d, while riding along the lines, and injured his wounded leg afresh. This confined him to his quarters for ten days, and intensified his restlessness and dissatisfaction. He accordingly was relieved at his own request, and repaired on the 12th of April to Montreal.

The supplies of ammunition, instead of being replenished, were steadily decreased by the fruitless bombardment of Quebec, and toward the close of April were reduced to three or four tons of powder, and ten or twelve tons of shot. The other supplies diminished as well. By the 1st of May the commissariat did not contain ten days' provisions, and the adjacent country had been well nigh exhausted of beef.

CHAPTER III.

Congress sends a Committee to Canada—Their Journey thither—Return of Dr. Franklin and Rev. John Carroll—The Supervision of the Northern Army—General Charles Lee ordered to the Command in Canada—The Order revoked, and General John Thomas sent in his stead—Further Reinforcements for the Army in Canada—Captain Ebenezer Stevens—Colonel John Patterson—The change of Feeling on the part of the Canadians towards the American cause—Arrival of General Thomas at Quebec—Condition of Affairs there—An Unsuccessful Attempt to send a Fire-ship into the enemy's shipping—A Council of War resolves upon a Retreat—Arrival of the British ships *Surprise*, *Martin*, and *Isis* with Reinforcements—A Sortie by Sir Guy Carleton—Precipitate Retreat of the Americans—Aaron Burr—Recovery of valuable Papers by Captain Jonathan Jones—Merciful Conduct of General Carleton—A Murder in Captain Jones' company—The Americans endeavor to make a Stand at Deschambault—A Council of War determines to continue the Retreat to Sorel—A Skirmish below Deschambault—Mr. Acklam Bonfield—The retreating Americans reach the mouth of the Sorel—Dr. Senter establishes a Hospital for the sick at Montreal—Deplorable Condition of the Troops at Sorel—Death of General Thomas.

CONGRESS, in its anxiety for the co-operation of Canada in the war against Great Britain, and its fears of the unfavorable effect which Montgomery's defeat might have upon the disposition of the Canadians, had, in February, 1776, appointed a committee of three of its members to undertake, at that severe season of the year, a mission of friendly intercession with the Canadians. This committee consisted of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and, in order to smooth the way to success with the Roman Catholics of that region, they requested the Rev. John Carroll, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore, to accompany them. He did so, but without avail, for the clergy

were unanimous against the American cause. The commissioners left New York in a sloop on the 2d of April, crossed the lakes in the ordinary flatboat covered with an awning, and furnished with beds which they brought with them from Philadelphia. They reached Montreal on the last day of April. The health of Dr. Franklin, who was then in his seventy-first year, had been impaired by the hardships of the journey, and after a stay of ten days in Montreal, he returned home. John Carroll, finding his mission of conciliation hopeless, returned with him. The other members of the committee remained until the 1st of June.

The northern department, though strictly under the command of Washington as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, was, with his concurrence, considered as more particularly under the direction of Congress. The commanding officers were appointed by Congress. Washington never interfered, to use his own language, "farther than merely to advise, and to give such aids as were within his power, on the requisitions of those officers." That these requisitions upon his advice and assistance were not only frequent but continuous, fully appears in the course of these pages. They turned to him for support in all their difficulties and embarrassments, and never without receiving from him his anxious and valuable aid.

Early in February, 1776, General Charles Lee, who was then busily engaged in perfecting measures for the defense of New York City, was ordered by Congress to take command of the forces in Canada. He had been suffering from an attack of gout, and was very reluctant to face the cold of the north. He delayed his departure from New York, from week to week, on the plea of ill-

health, until the beginning of March, when Congress revoked the order, and directed him to take command of the Southern department. This change, though more consonant to the state of his health, was even more unacceptable to his querulous disposition, and he then complained that he could have rendered the cause more service in Canada, because he was familiar with the French language. "As I am the only general officer on the continent who can speak and think in French," he wrote to Washington, "I confess I think it would have been more prudent to have sent me to Canada, but I shall obey with alacrity and hope with success."

General John Thomas, who commanded on Dorchester Heights the eventful night they were fortified, was promoted to the rank of major-general by Congress, and selected for the command in Canada in Lee's place. He was born at Marshfield, Massachusetts, in 1725, where he practiced medicine; was a surgeon in the military service in 1746; commanded a regiment of Massachusetts provincials under Amherst, at Crown Point, in 1760; and in August of that year participated in the capture of Montreal. He was a delegate to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and was appointed brigadier-general by Congress, June 22d, 1775, upon the first organization of the Continental Army. He was an officer of high character and ability, and had filled all the public trusts confided to him with credit and distinction. He left Roxbury on the 21st of March, and reached Albany on the 28th, where he was delayed for a fortnight on account of the impassable condition of the lakes. It was the 26th of April before he reached Montreal, from whence he proceeded immediately to Quebec.

In the meantime reinforcements for the army in Canada

were being pushed forward as rapidly as circumstances in those early days would admit. St. Clair's Second Pennsylvania Regiment was ordered directly to Canada by Congress, but it was the middle of April before it reached the lakes, where it was further delayed by the breaking up of the ice. Harmar's, Lamar's, and Willet's companies, with Colonel De Haas, and Captain John Nelson's independent rifle company (which was attached to the First Pennsylvania Regiment), were detained at Lake George by the same cause, and did not join their comrades of the regiment until after the retreat from Quebec. The other troops who were massed at the head of Lake George, waiting for the navigation to open, were part of Maxwell's Second New Jersey Regiment, the Connecticut regiment of Continental troops commanded by Colonel Charles Burrell, and a company of Pennsylvania artillery, commanded by Captain Bernard Romans, a French officer of artillery and a skillful engineer, who had taken an active part, under Ethan Allen, in the capture of Ticonderoga, in May, 1775. This last company was raised in Pennsylvania for the Continental service by an order of Congress made on the 8th of February, 1776.

Bedel's New Hampshire and Porter's Massachusetts regiments had gone on before by the way of Number Four (Charlestown) and Onion river. Washington also sent two companies of Colonel Henry Knox's Massachusetts regiment of artillery, under command of Captain Ebenezer Stevens.* Stevens had with him two mortars,

* EBENEZER STEVENS was born in Roxbury, Mass., August 11th, 1751. At an early age he joined Paddock's company of artillery, which furnished many excellent artillery officers to the Continental army, and took an active part in the destruction of tea in Boston harbor in 1773. After the battle of Lexington, he became first lieutenant of a company of artillery from Providence, R. I., and marched to Boston, where, in January, 1776, he became a captain in the Massachusetts regiment of artillery commanded by Colonel Henry Knox. In March, 1776, he was ordered to Canada, with two companies of the regiment

shell, &c., and a company of artificers, and was especially enjoined by Colonel Knox, in his instructions, to carry the mortars and shell safely for effective use upon Quebec. He cut a road across the Green mountains to Otter creek, a distance of forty miles, and descended the creek on rafts, which he constructed for that purpose. Washington sent also five hundred barrels of provisions and other articles.

Washington had arrived in New York on the 13th of April, from Boston. Before his arrival there Congress had recommended him to send four regiments from New York to reinforce the army in Canada. A day or two after his arrival he received a letter from Schuyler, dated Fort George, 12th of April, to the following effect:—"This moment the post from Canada is arrived. I enclose you copies of all the papers I received. The intelligence they afford is so alarming that I beg leave to repeat my wish that a considerable body of troops should be immediately sent up. I have stopped the courier at this place, and he goes back immediately to advise our friends in Canada that the troops now here will soon be in Canada; and I have presumed to add, that they will be followed by three or four thousand more. This intelligence will keep up their spirits and intimidate our enemies." Washington's arrival had been preceded on the 30th of March by the regiments of John Patterson, William Bond, John Groaton, and Enoch Poor—all from his army at Cambridge. He

and a party of artificers. He was promoted to the rank of major at Ticonderoga, in October, 1776. His battery formed part of the garrison of Ticonderoga when it was evacuated by St. Clair in 1777, and he subsequently took part in the events which preceded the surrender of Burgoyne. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel of artillery, November 24th, 1778, and continued in active and distinguished service to the close of the war. He was present at the surrender of Cornwallis and the evacuation of New York City, and was a member of the Assembly of New York, from that city, in 1800. He died September 22d, 1828.

at once sent them (in all about eleven hundred strong), under General William Thompson, of Pennsylvania, to reinforce the army in Canada. They sailed for Albany on the 21st of April, in sloops up the Hudson, which had been free from ice since the middle of March. With them also went a company of riflemen, a company of artificers, and two engineers.

Washington, under cover of a letter of his own, bearing date the 19th of April (in which he asked the opinion of Congress whether he should send further reinforcements to Canada), sent General Schuyler's letter with its enclosures to President Hancock, who immediately laid them before Congress. As the result of its deliberations, Congress ordered six additional regiments to be sent into Canada from the army at New York. In acknowledging the receipt of the papers, and communicating this resolution to Washington, the President of Congress wrote as follows:—"The important intelligence these papers contain makes it necessary that the most vigorous measures should be adopted, as well to defend our troops against the Canadians themselves, as to insure success to the expedition. The Congress being determined on the reduction of Quebec and the security of that country, for reasons too obvious to be mentioned, have left nothing undone which can any ways contribute to that end."

It will be observed that an entire change in the feelings of the Canadians is here referred to, and an entire change in the policy of Congress toward them. At the outset the Canadians manifested a very friendly disposition toward their sister colonies, and were disposed to sympathize with them against the mother country. They afforded Montgomery ready and valuable assistance, but with the death of Montgomery, and the reverse of fortune,

came an entire change of feeling upon their part. They were thenceforward treated as enemies. This change of feeling was largely due to their Gallic temperament, which sympathizes only with success. They were quick to recognize the fact that the colonial force in Canada was wholly inadequate to protect them against Great Britain. But there were many other causes which, through the mismanagement of the American cause there, contributed to this estrangement, as well as many substantial grievances. Their clergy were neglected and in some instances ill-used. The peasantry were obliged by force to furnish supplies of different sorts without adequate compensation, or upon certificates which were not honored, and which utterly destroyed the credit of Congress.

Four of the six Pennsylvania regiments—Shee's, Wayne's, Magaw's, and Irvine's—had been sent to Washington's army in the city of New York and vicinity. On the 26th of April, in obedience to the demands of Congress, Washington still further depleted his own little army by sending Captains Robertson's, Lacey's, and Church's companies of Anthony Wayne's regiment, William Irvine's, John Stark's, William Wind's, Elias Dayton's, and James Reed's regiments, in all about twenty-five hundred men, under General John Sullivan, as additional reinforcements to Canada. Colonel Wayne accompanied this detachment, but the remaining companies of his regiment did not join him until after the retreat of the army to Ticonderoga early in July. Washington parted with these troops very reluctantly, for the safety of his own army would not allow of its being weakened by the loss of so many of his best men; but he yielded with his usual unselfishness to the resolution of Congress, supported, as it was, by the popular clamor for additional

support to the army in Canada, upon which the greater hopes and attention of Congress and the colonies were at that time fixed. To supply the places of the troops of which he was thus deprived, he was obliged to apply to New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey for the adoption of such measures as would enable their militia to march to his relief upon the appearance of the enemy or in any case of emergency.

On the 1st of May, General Thomas arrived before Quebec, and immediately took steps to ascertain the exact condition of affairs. Out of the nineteen hundred men which then composed the army, he found only one thousand, including officers, who were fit for duty, and the enlistments of nearly one-third of these had expired on the 15th of April, which reduced his available force to about seven hundred, for many of those whose enlistments had expired refused to do duty. This small force was so distributed among the scattered posts, that not more than half of it could be relied upon to resist an attack made upon any point. There were no intrenchments and no breastworks, nor any tools with which to erect them.

Provisions and ammunition were rapidly being exhausted. One hundred and fifty pounds of powder and six days' rations were all that remained. There was no immediate prospect of these scanty stores being replenished, and the French inhabitants were so much disaffected to the cause that no supplies could be obtained from them without the greatest difficulty, and then only for cash in hard money.

Under the direction of General Wooster a fire-ship had been constructed in the month of April, and at ten o'clock on the night of the 3d of May an attempt was

made to send it up the river into the enemy's shipping. The tide ebbcd, however, before the shipping was reached, and the combustibles, through some miscalculation, ignited before the time. The fire-ship burned to the water's edge, without doing any injury. The troops had been ordered out with their scaling-ladders and pikes to be prepared to take advantage of any confusion in the city which this expedition might occasion. "It is supposed," wrote Gen. Carleton to Lord George Germain, "they intended a general assault had they succeeded in setting fire to the ships and lower town." But they were obliged to return still further discouraged to their quarters when the adventure had failed.*

As early as the 18th of January, Washington had written to Schuyler that Quebec must be reduced before the winter was over, or the enemy would undoubtedly

* John Jay, in a letter to Edward Rutledge, dated New York, July 6th, 1776, wrote of this fire-ship as follows:—"I'll tell you a pretty story of Wooster. While he was smoking his pipe in the suburbs of Quebec, he took it into his head that he might do wonders with a fire-ship; and with an imagination warmed by the blaze of the enemy's vessels, sent for a New York captain, who, it seems, understood the business of fire-ship building. Under the strongest injunction of secrecy, he communicated to him the important plan, and ordered him to get the ship in readiness with all the dispatch and privacy in his power, wisely observing that if the enemy should get any intelligence of his design, they would carry their vessels out of the way of his fire-ship. The captain accordingly set about preparing the material, &c., necessary for the exploit which was to heroize the General. Some short time after, Wooster was informed that the time for which the York troops were enlisted would expire in a day or two. He issued orders for them to parade at a certain time and place, and informed them that he would then and there make a speech to them, and a Ciceronian speech it was. 'My lads,' says he, 'I find your time is almost out, and maybe some of you think on going. But surely you won't leave me now; you must try and stay a little longer. Don't think that I am lying here doing nothing. No, no; you shall see a fine sight soon. I am busy building a fire-ship; and as soon as she is ready, will burn all their vessels up.' The York troops, allured by the promise of a *fou de joie*, stayed, and were disappointed. Some renegade Frenchman remembered the speech, and told it as a secret to Governor Carleton. The vessels were put out of harm's way, and the Connecticut Alexander lost his passage in a fire-ship to the temple of fame."

place a strong garrison there. The winter was now over, and Quebec had not been reduced. The time was rapidly approaching when the threatened reinforcements would arrive. In the midst of this hopeless condition of things, General Thomas, despairing of his ability to reduce this most impregnable fortress on the continent of America with the slender means at his command, called his officers together on the 5th. This council was composed of Generals Thomas and Wooster, Colonels Campbell, Maxwell, Porter, Nicholson, and Elmore, Lieutenant-Colonels Irvine, Brown, Wait, and Shreve, and Majors Morris and Lockwood. As the result of their deliberations, it was unanimously resolved to raise the siege, remove the sick immediately to Three Rivers, embark the cannon from the outposts as soon as possible, and fortify Jacques Cartier and Deschambault.

Preparations were at once begun to carry out these resolutions. The river was still practicably closed to navigation, and it was not believed that the British reinforcements could arrive so early in the spring. The little Colonial army, whose whole available force at that time was barely sufficient to make one full regiment, had been encouraged to believe that reinforcements would reach them in time to bring the campaign to a successful issue. Week after week had rolled round, and they still waited impatiently for these reinforcements to arrive. The dreary monotony of camp-life, exposed to the rigors of a Canadian winter, grew more and more unbearable as the uneventful days passed by. There was neither amusement nor recreation to divert, nor the excitement of battle to stir up, their jaded spirits. This inactivity had been the bane of their existence. Despairing of the arrival of reinforcements, they looked anxiously for the

arrival of General Thomas. He came, fully advised of the military situation to the south, and, after looking around him, saw that nothing was left but retreat. When this necessary step, which had been too long delayed, was finally determined upon, it was greatly embarrassed by the unfriendly inhabitants, who refused to furnish transportation or any other assistance, but, so far as possible, kept themselves concealed.

Meanwhile, the ship *Surprise*, Captain Lindsay, and sloop *Martin*, which had sailed from Plymouth on the 20th of March, and the frigate *Isis*, which left Portland March 11th, with reinforcements, after having encountered great difficulties with the ice in the St. Lawrence, arrived below Quebec on the 5th of May, the same day the Americans had determined upon their retreat. The *Surprise* reached Quebec at daylight on the 6th, "to the inconceivable joy of all who saw her," wrote a British officer who was in Quebec at the time. "The news soon reached every pillow in town, people half-dressed ran down to the grand battery to feast their eyes with the sight of a ship of war displaying the union flag." The population during the siege was about five thousand. The *Martin* and *Isis*, of fifty-four guns, came up shortly after with the same tide. Two companies of the twenty-ninth regiment and about two hundred marines were landed, and these, with the Royal Highland emigrants, all the British and French militia, and the artificers from Halifax, numbering about eight hundred in all, marched out of the gates of St. John and St. Louis about 12 o'clock, under the command of General Carleton, in two divisions, six columns deep, with four brass six-pounders. They marched with a quick pace until they reached the Heights of Abraham, where they formed in line of battle,

with the Royal Fusileers and Highland emigrants on the right, the British militia on the left, and the French militia and all the marines in the centre. The greatest number of Americans that could be collected upon the Plains of Abraham to oppose this force of the British on such short notice, was about two hundred and fifty men with one piece of artillery. The British advanced to the attack. But few shots were exchanged, and observing the overwhelming force of the enemy, a retreat was ordered by General Thomas, which took place with the greatest precipitation and confusion. The Colonial forces were so scattered at the different posts, that it was impossible to bring them off in any order, and the men made their escape as best they could. The detachments at Point Levi and Charlebourg were obliged to make a weary and long detour through the woods to avoid the enemy, whose ships had advanced up the river and cut them off from the main body. There was no time left to save anything. The dinner which had been prepared for General Thomas at Holland House, near the Heights of Abraham, was left untouched. All their cannon, five hundred stand of small arms, military and hospital stores, clothing, orderly books and papers, scaling ladders and petards, fell into the hands of the British. It was as much as the troops could do to save themselves. With this retreating army was Aaron Burr, then only twenty years of age. He had accompanied Arnold's expedition to Canada by the way of the Kennebec as a volunteer, and had been made by Montgomery one of his aides-de-camp.

In the haste and confusion of the retreat, valuable papers were forgotten at headquarters which it was important should not fall into the enemy's hands. Captain

Jonathan Jones volunteered to return for them. His services were promptly accepted, and at imminent risk of capture he went back, secured the papers, and returned safely with them.

The British did not attempt to follow the retreating Americans, but remained upon the Plains of Abraham until four o'clock in the afternoon, when they returned to Quebec.

The Surprise and Martin sailed up the river in pursuit, and captured an armed schooner carrying four six and six three pounders. They also recaptured the ship Gaspé, which had been taken from the British by the American forces during the winter. Most of the American vessels and boats were run on shore and burnt. The crews made good their escape up the river in their boats, the British ships having come to anchor when the tide turned. The cannon which had been loaded in boats preparatory to the retreat of the army were captured, and nearly two tons of powder, which was on its way to camp in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel William Allen, of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, fell into the hands of the British forces.

One hundred of those who were sick with the small-pox made their escape with their comrades. All the rest were left behind to find merciful treatment at the hands of Sir Guy Carleton, who issued the following proclamation:—

“WHEREAS, I am informed that many of his Majesty’s deluded subjects of the neighboring provinces, laboring under wounds and divers disorders, are dispersed in the adjacent woods and parishes, and are in great danger of perishing for want of proper assistance. All captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent search for all such distressed persons, and afford them all necessary relief and convey them to the general hospital, where

proper care shall be taken of them. All reasonable expenses which shall be incurred in complying with this order shall be paid by the receiver-general.

"And lest a consciousness of past offenses should deter such miserable wretches from receiving that assistance which their distressed situation may require, I hereby make known to them, that as soon as their health is restored they shall have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.

"Given under my hand and seal of arms at the castle of St. Louis, in the city of Quebec, this tenth day of May, 1776, in the sixteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord, George the Third.

"GUY CARLETON."*

Afterwards, when these prisoners were convalescent, they were brought before General Carleton in squads, when he addressed them as follows :—"My lads, why did you come to disturb a man in his government that never did you any harm in his life? I never invaded your property, nor sent a single soldier to distress you. Come, my boys! you are in a very painful situation, and not able to go home with any comfort. I must provide you with shoes, stockings, and good warm waistcoats. I must give you some good victuals to carry you home. Take care, my lads, that you don't come here again, lest I should not treat you so kindly."

Captain Jonathan Jones' company was in the rear of the retreating Americans, and reached Point aux Trem-

*SIR GUY CARLETON was born at Strabane, Ireland, in 1724, and became lieutenant-colonel in the Guards in 1748. He accompanied General Amherst to America, in 1758, and distinguished himself at the siege of Quebec. He was promoted to the rank of colonel, and was conspicuous for his bravery at the siege of Havana, in 1762. In 1772 he was created major-general and appointed British governor of Quebec. In 1775 he was appointed commander of the British forces in Canada. In 1781 he succeeded Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and so continued until after the treaty of peace. In 1786 he was again appointed governor of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and was raised to the peerage, as a reward for his distinguished services, under the title of Lord Dorchester. He died in 1808 at the age of eighty-five.

bles (Aspen-tree Point), twenty-four miles above Quebec, on the 7th. While passing that point Corporal Kelly, of his company, was assassinated by Brice Dunlap, one of his private soldiers, whom Kelly had been obliged to punish for breach of discipline. Kelly's body was hastily buried, a volley fired over his grave, and the retreat continued. All the other troops but a few stragglers had gone on ahead. Dunlap was kept under arrest until after the army had retired to Ticonderoga, when measures were taken to send him back to the civil authorities for punishment.

The first stand the forlorn and retreating Continental troops attempted to make was at Deschambault, forty-five miles above Quebec, where the greater part of them were concentrated, after forced marches, on the 7th of May. They had very little ammunition, no clothing but that on their backs, and only provisions enough to subsist them for two or three days. Here they were reinforced by Colonel Burrell, with part of his Connecticut regiment, which was stopped by the retreat on its way to join the camp before Quebec. A council of war was immediately held, when it was resolved, with only three dissenting votes out of fifteen, that it was not advisable for the army in its then forlorn condition to attempt to make a stand below the mouth of the Sorel. This council was composed of Generals Thomas and Wooster, Colonels Burrell, Campbell, Elmore, and Livingston, Lieutenant-Colonels Irvine, Shreve, Buel, Brown, Antell, Allen, and Williams, and Majors Morris, Sedgwick, and Ray. Lieutenant-Colonels Antell, Allen, and Williams voted against the retreat. Deschambault was a strong position, and General Thomas, though conscious of his inability to hold it with the resources then at his command, was reluctant

to abandon it until he had exhausted every possible hope of succor. He sent an officer at once to Montreal for provisions, reinforcements, intrenching tools, boats, and assistance to take off the sick. While he waited with anxiety for these, his situation was daily rendered more distressing by the conduct of the Connecticut troops who had lately joined him. Alarmed at the loathsome cases of small-pox which confronted them on every hand, they had secretly inoculated themselves, in disobedience of orders, and thereby contributed greatly to the spread of the disease.

When General Thomas' call for assistance reached the Commissioners of Congress at Montreal, they at once expressed themselves against any attempt to hold Deschambault, believing that in the present situation of affairs a retreat to St. Johns and Isle aux Noix was inevitable. So thoroughly convinced were they that the retreat must continue, and that all hope of maintaining a foothold in Canada was gone, that they advised General Schuyler not to forward Sullivan's brigade (which was detained until boats could be built for them), as no further supplies could be drawn from Canada, and reinforcements could only increase their distress. But Arnold did not agree with them. He was for keeping Deschambault at all hazards, and the commissioners yielded to his superior judgment in such matters and his familiar knowledge of the country. Captain Bent and a lieutenant, with two hundred and fifty men, were dispatched from Sorel to the assistance of the troops at Deschambault; but General Thomas, after waiting six days for the much-needed relief in vain, found it utterly impossible to delay the evacuation of Deschambault longer, and he consequently continued his retreat to Three Rivers.

The Americans had been pursued as far as Deschambault by a British frigate of thirty-six guns, a ship of twenty guns, and the schooner captured from the Americans. Eight boat-loads of men landed from these vessels four miles below Deschambault on the 9th. General Thomas detailed the First Pennsylvania Regiment to attack them, supported by a reserve of one hundred and fifty men. After a slight skirmish the British retreated to their boats and returned to the ships before the reserves had come up.

Colonel Maxwell, with a few New Jersey troops, had been left as an outpost at Jacques Cartier (also a strong military position), but finding himself unable to hold it, he joined General Thomas at Deschambault on the 12th.

When the Americans began their retreat from Deschambault, they had but three pounds of meal and not an ounce of meat to each man. After another weary and dispiriting march they reached Three Rivers on Wednesday, the 15th of May, where they were joined by the artillery companies of Captains Stevens and Eustis, under the command of the former, who had proceeded thus far on their way to Quebec when they learned of the retreat. At this point General Thomas felt that he could safely disencumber himself of the sick, who had greatly retarded his movements, and hasten on to the mouth of the Sorel, where, with the reinforcements he expected, he could entrench himself and resist the further progress of the enemy. He accordingly left the sick at Three Rivers, under the merciful care of Mr. Bonfield, until he could provide means for their removal to a place of greater comfort and security, and detached Colonel Maxwell, with his Jersey troops, for their protection.

Mr. Acklam Bonfield was a prosperous merchant of Quebec, who early espoused the patriot cause. Such was the measure of his devotion, that he abandoned his fortune and family, and took his place of usefulness in the camp of the Colonial troops. He was untiring in such works of mercy as that just recited. He remained with the army until after its retreat from Canada, when he repaired to Philadelphia. He died at that place April 25th, 1777, at the age of thirty-seven, and was buried in Christ Church yard.

General Thomas, with the troops from before Quebec, reached the mouth of the Sorel on Friday, the seventeenth day of May, where he found General Arnold, General Thompson with Greateon's and part of Bond's regiments, and Colonel St. Clair with the Second Pennsylvania. These troops had arrived there only the evening before. General Thompson's brigade took with it the last boat on the lakes, and General Schuyler was straining all his energies in the construction of others, at the rate of six to eight per day, in which to forward General Sullivan's brigade. General Thomas at once dispatched Dr. Isaac Senter to Montreal, to open a hospital for the sick, for which purpose General Arnold assigned him a large house at that place belonging to the East India Company. General Thomas had the sick removed from Three Rivers to this hospital, and on the 20th was obliged, on account of the want of provisions, to order Colonel Maxwell to abandon Three Rivers and join him at Sorel with his Jersey troops. Maxwell entertained the vain hope of being able to hold Three Rivers, which possessed military advantages, until the arrival of reinforcements should check the disasters of the campaign at that point, and enable them to regain the ground they

had already lost below. He therefore obeyed General Thomas' instructions with great reluctance.

Sorel was a low, unhealthy place, almost upon a level with the water's edge. Here it was determined to concentrate all the available troops, repair as well as possible their broken fortunes, and make a desperate effort to regain some of the ground that had been lost down the river. The troops were supported in the river by two gondolas, one mounting three twenty-four pounders, the other, one twelve-pounder, and several armed bateaux.

Though determined in spirit, the outlook to the troops then assembled at Sorel was a most gloomy one. Their condition was deplorable. "The army here," wrote the Commissioners of Congress to Schuyler, "is suffering for want of provisions, particularly pork. None, or next to none, is to be procured in Canada. For God's sake send off pork, or our troops will be greatly distressed for want of provisions." On the 17th of May they wrote to Congress, "We want words to describe the confusion that prevails through every department relating to the army. Your troops live from hand to mouth. They have of late been put on half allowance in several places, and in some they have been without pork for three or four days past," and on the 27th they wrote again to Congress, "The army is in a distressed condition, and is in want of the most necessary articles, meat, bread, shoes, and stockings."

They were literally in rags, broken, disorganized, sick, hungry, and disheartened. Half their number were down with small-pox and other diseases. General Thompson had brought with him all the pork there was at the posts above Albany, amounting to about two hundred pounds. The amount of meat and flour required for the daily

sustenance of the army then in Canada was estimated at twelve thousand pounds of each. No provisions could be obtained in Canada, as Congress was entirely without credit, and was already indebted to the inhabitants in the sum of \$15,000. Not even the use of a cart could be procured without ready money or force. The men were without pay, Congress being \$30,000 in their debt, and there were not eight tons of gunpowder in the whole province of Canada. "One thousand weight of lead," wrote General Thompson, "fifty quires of cartridge paper, and fifteen pounds of thread, were necessary to furnish twenty-four rounds of ammunition to each man." A few peas were the only vegetables that even the officers were able to obtain. With difficulty the commissioners procured three hundred tents and two hundred and fifty camp-kettles for them at Montreal. They were, as General Thomas described it, "destitute of almost everything necessary to render their lives comfortable or even tolerable," and with no prospect of speedy relief. "Our soldiers," wrote the Commissioners of Congress to General Thomas from Montreal, on the 26th of May, "will be soon reduced to the dreadful alternative of starving or of plundering the inhabitants. The latter will surely happen, if our troops should not be supplied with bread in a regular way."

On the 21st of May, while this distressing state of affairs in the army was at its height, Major-General Thomas was seized with small-pox. He had never had the disease, and was, therefore, exposed to great danger from the first; but he had refused to be inoculated, because, for the efficiency of the service, he had been obliged to prohibit inoculation among the troops, and he would not avail himself of any security which his duty



Jr. Thomas

compelled him to deny to them. Only the day before he had complained bitterly to the Commissioners of the disobedience of orders by the troops in inoculating themselves. He relinquished the command to Brigadier-General Thompson, and was removed to Chamblee, where he died on the second day of June. In his death, the cause of American liberty, then in its infancy, received one of its earliest and greatest sacrifices, and one which the circumstances of his death rendered peculiarly distressing. Had his life been spared, his name would now fill a larger page in his country's history, but that record, bright as it might have become, could not have increased the gratitude which his countrymen owe to his memory.

CHAPTER IV.

Arnold sends Troops to the Cedars—Captain Forster's Party Attempts to Dislodge them—Colonel Bedel Abandons his Post—Major Henry Sherburne sets out with Reinforcements—Delays in his March—Disgraceful Surrender by Major Butterfield—The Conduct of Bedel and Butterfield Condemned by Washington—They are Court-martialed and Dismissed the Service—Disastrous Defeat of Sherburne's Party—Barbarous Treatment of the Prisoners—The Loss on both sides—Indignation throughout the Colonies at the Ill-treatment of the Prisoners—Arnold sets out to their Relief—The Commissioners of Congress send the First Pennsylvania Regiment to Reinforce Arnold—They Purchase Thirty Loaves of Bread for them in Montreal—Forster, advised of their Approach, Retreats—The Pursuit—Arnold Demands a Surrender of the Prisoners—A Council of War decides against a Surprise—An Exchange of Prisoners and an Armistice agreed upon—Retreat of Forster's Party above the Cedars.

LATE in April, General Arnold ordered Colonel Timothy Bedel, with about three hundred and ninety men of his own New Hampshire and Burrell's Connecticut Regiment of Continental troops, to take post on a point of land called the Cedars, forty-three miles above Montreal, on the St. Lawrence, "to prevent any goods being sent to the upper country, and to guard against a surprise from the enemy or their Indians." They had two pieces of artillery, and were well intrenched behind picket lines and breastworks, in a strong position commanding a narrow pass on the line of communication between Montreal and the upper country.

When information of Bedel's movements reached the British station above, a party of troops descended the

St. Lawrence from Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg), to dislodge him. This motley force consisted of five hundred savages, chiefly Mohawks and Caughnawagas, under Joseph Brant, the great captain of the Six Nations, one hundred Canadians, and forty regulars of the eighth regiment of foot (Armstrong's). The whole was commanded by Captain George Forster of the eighth regiment.

On Wednesday, the 15th of May, Bedel was advised by two friendly Indians of the approach of this party, which was then within nine miles of his post. Instead of preparing himself to resist the attack, he immediately turned over the command to Major Isaac Butterfield and hastened back to Montreal, under the specious pretext of obtaining reinforcements for the post. General Arnold was absent at Sorel when Bedel reached Montreal, and he therefore made his statement of the condition of affairs at the Cedars to Colonel Patterson,* who had been ordered with his regiment to Montreal as soon as he reached St. Johns from the south. Colonel Patterson immediately sent Bedel's report to General Arnold at Sorel, and detached one hundred and fifty men from his own regiment to reinforce the post at the Cedars, which Major Henry Sherburne volunteered to command.

*JOHN PATTERSON was born in New Britain, Conn., in 1744, and removed to Lenox, Mass., in 1774. He was a member of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775, and commanded a company of minute men of Berkshire county, which marched for Boston the day after they received news of the battle of Lexington. He commanded a regiment at the battle of Bunker's Hill. After the evacuation of Boston by the British, he marched with his regiment to New York, and from there under General Thompson to Canada. He afterwards took part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and was appointed brigadier-general by Congress February 21st, 1777. He was at the battles of Saratoga and Monmouth. He was a lawyer by profession, and after the war removed to Lisle, Broome county, New York, where he became chief justice of the county court. He was a member of the New York Legislature and Constitutional Convention, and a member of Congress in 1803-5. He died at Lisle, July 19th, 1808.

Sherburne left Montreal with his detachment on the 16th of May, but was unable to ascend Lake St. Louis, on account of the difficulty he experienced in procuring boats, until the 18th. On that day he landed his force on a point at the head of the lake, nine miles below the Cedars. From here he sent out Captain Theodore Bliss with a party to procure transportation. Bliss was captured when two miles out, but succeeded in advising Sherburne of his capture, and also of the fact that a force of five hundred Canadians and savages intended to attack him that night. Sherburne, relying upon the truth of this information, which proved to be utterly without foundation, re-embarked his men and provisions and brought them safely back to Montreal Island, arriving there about two o'clock in the morning. During the course of the same day, he endeavored to ascend the lake again, but was prevented by adverse winds, one boat only, containing Captain Ebenezer Sullivan (a brother of the general) and party, having succeeded in reaching the head of the lake. Upon landing, Captain Sullivan compelled a priest to accompany him to the place where Bliss was confined, and secured his release.

The valuable time thus lost by Sherburne prevented him from reaching the Cedars before the post was besieged by Forster's party. If he had not acted so promptly upon the false intelligence which Bliss had sent him, or if circumstances had permitted him to make better use of the time, the history of the Revolution might have been spared the shame of the affair at the Cedars, and the subsequent capture of his own force have been averted.

On Friday, the 17th, Captain Forster had invested the post at the Cedars, and for two days kept up a loose,

scattering fire, which did no injury, except the wounding of one man. Butterfield, who was paralyzed with fear, had twenty rounds of cartridges to each of his men, fifteen pounds of musket-balls, thirty rounds of cartridges for one field-piece and five for another, half a barrel of gunpowder, and provisions for twenty or thirty days. He saw the ineffectual fire of the enemy, and knew that reinforcements were near at hand. Yet when Forster demanded a surrender, he ignominiously complied, against the protestations of his officers and men, on Sunday, the 19th instant, without conditions, and without firing a shot. Rather than brave the possibilities of falling into the hands of a savage enemy, which they were not slow to threaten him with, he preferred to incur the contempt of his companions and the obloquy of posterity. His conduct, as well as that of Bedel, was promptly condemned by Washington in a letter to Schuyler. "They have certainly acted a part," he wrote, "deserving the most exemplary notice. I hope you will take proper measures, and have good courts appointed to bring them and every other officer that has been, or shall be, guilty of misconduct to trial, that they may be punished according to their offenses. Our misfortunes at the Cedars were occasioned, as it is said, entirely by their base and cowardly behavior; and can not be ascribed to any other cause." They were put under arrest, and sent to Sorel for trial, but, owing to the retreat of the army, they were not court-martialed until the 1st of August, at Ticonderoga (that being the earliest day when the condition of the army would admit of their being called to account). They were both sentenced to be cashiered and incapacitated forever from holding a commission in the army of the United States, and ordered to depart the camp imme-

diately. "I ordered the sentences to be inserted in the general orders," wrote General Gates to John Hancock, "and hope the disgraceful example made of the offenders will deter others from committing so flagrant a crime. Perhaps a little more severity in the court-martial would have effected this in a stronger manner, but severity is not the characteristic of our military courts any more than it is our military law." The regiment upon which these unworthy officers had brought this misfortune was commanded to the end of the campaign by Lieut. Colonel Joseph Wait.

Sherburne, with the rest of his party, ascended the lake again on the 20th, landed at Quinze Chiens, and marched about noon (his force being then reduced to about one hundred) to within four miles of the Cedars. He had no tidings of the fate of that post. Thus far he had encountered no sign of the enemy, though his knowledge of Indian warfare led him to expect them in every thicket and behind every tree. At this point, however, traces of them were discovered, but before he could improve the warning, a murderous volley, accompanied with the wild whoops of the savages, was poured into his ranks by the treacherous enemy concealed in overpowering numbers in the woods. Sherburne's column faltered for a moment under the galling fire, but immediately rallied, and a fierce and bloody contest ensued. The Americans fought under the greatest disadvantages, but they maintained their ground with courage and desperation for an hour. Every one of their number who fell cost the enemy dearly. The odds against which they contended were four to one, and it soon became apparent that they were in great danger of being surrounded and captured. Seeing this, Sherburne brought off his men in good order, and for

forty minutes longer kept up a running fire with his assailants. Of course, their progress was slow. A party of the enemy that was disengaged was easily able to outflank them and secure a bridge over which they were obliged to pass in their retreat. When they reached this all hope of further resistance was gone, and they were obliged to surrender.

The total loss of the Americans in this engagement was twenty-eight killed, wounded, and missing. That of the enemy was twenty-one killed, including a chief warrior of the Seneca tribe. The whole force was marched off as prisoners of war to the Cedars, amid loud lamentations of the Indians for the loss of their chief.

The prisoners were at once subjected to the most barbarous treatment, were stripped of almost all their clothing, and many were tomahawked and scalped. One, while still retaining life and sensation, was roasted by the savages. Two others were exposed on an island naked and starving, where they were afterwards discovered by the troops under Arnold and taken off. During the whole of their imprisonment, they were furnished with inadequate food of an inferior quality.

These outrages at the Cedars awakened great indignation throughout the colonies. "The inhuman treatment of the whole and murder of part of our people after their surrender and capitulation," wrote Washington from New York, "was certainly a flagrant violation of that faith which ought to be held sacred by all civilized nations, and was founded in the most savage barbarity." The truth of these outrages was subsequently established in an investigation by Congress, which body, upon the strength of them, refused to ratify a cartel which Arnold had made with Forster for the exchange of the prisoners,

and demanded the surrender of their guilty perpetrators, in order that they might be punished.

Arnold, who was at Sorel when he received the intelligence brought by Colonel Bedel from the Cedars, immediately repaired to Montreal, and taking with him one hundred men, set out for the Cedars. On the march he received intelligence of Butterfield's surrender and the capture of Sherburne and his party. He thereupon halted at La Chine, twelve miles above Montreal, and intrenched himself in a spacious stone magazine. The garrison of Fort St. Ann, at the head of Montreal Island, under the command of Captain Young, upon learning of these disasters, and that the Indians were about landing on the island, abandoned the fort with its stores and provisions, and retreated to La Chine, where they joined General Arnold. Arnold was also reinforced by part of Greateon's regiment and a company of Reed's regiment, under command of Captain James Wilkinson.

The Commissioners of Congress learned at Sorel, on the 22d of May, of these increasing disasters above Montreal, and immediately ordered the First Pennsylvania Regiment, under Colonel De Haas, in all about four hundred and ten in number, including Nelson's rifle company, up to Montreal, to reinforce General Arnold. They reached Montreal on the evening of the 24th, and remained there until the following evening at six o'clock, when they moved forward for La Chine. Some idea of the destitute condition of the regiment may be formed from the circumstance that the Commissioners were obliged to purchase out of their private means thirty loaves of bread from their baker, to feed them upon while they were in Montreal, because they could not obtain food from any other quarter.

On that Saturday night, during which they made their brave march, hungry and ragged, to relieve General Arnold, he was in immediate anticipation of an attack from Forster's motley forces, who had with them the two pieces of artillery taken at the Cedars, and who were so much emboldened by the easy victories they had just achieved that they believed Montreal was at their mercy. The drums of Forster's party were distinctly heard at La Chine, and Arnold's little force was out under arms until 10 P. M., prepared to receive them. At that hour they doubled the guard, and repaired to their quarters to sleep on their arms, momentarily expecting an attack. Forster's spies, however, had informed him of the approach of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, which caused him to retreat with precipitation. The cause of this retreat was not understood by Arnold's forces until the arrival of the First Pennsylvania about six o'clock on the following morning. Colonel De Haas immediately set off with his regiment, though wearied with their night's march, to endeavor to cut off the retreat of Forster's party before they should be able to cross to the main land; and General Arnold prepared to follow him as soon as he could get his troops in marching order.

The First Pennsylvania Regiment reached Fort St. Ann, at the upper end of Montreal Island, on the same afternoon, at three o'clock, in time to see Forster's rear guard landing on the opposite shore. It was an hour later before Arnold with his troops got up, and there was another hour's delay occasioned by the difficulty experienced by the bateaux in stemming St. Ann's rapids. The stores and provisions were then unloaded from the boats with the greatest zeal and promptitude, and the troops eagerly embarked in the boats until they were

weighed down to the water's edge. Arnold's canoe was paddled by four Iroquois Indians. The river was wide and unruffled. They steered their course for the white village and spire of *Quinze Chiens*, and as they dropped down with the rapid current they were almost afraid to move for fear their crowded boats would be swamped. There were no signs of the enemy until they approached the opposite shore where they intended to land. As they approached this spot a fire was suddenly opened upon them from a masked battery—consisting of the two brass six-pounders which Butterfield had surrendered at the Cedars (Forster's party had no other artillery), and from small arms along the whole line.

The stillness of that beautiful Sunday evening in May was also broken by the unearthly yells of the savages. The enemy was intrenched in a strong position around the church. It was just after sunset, and the rattling of musketry, the booming of the cannon, the war-whoops of the savages, and the splashing of the balls in the river, which more than once sprinkled them with water, and the slightest touch of which would have sunk them, made their position a very perilous and thrilling one. It was impossible for them to land under such a fire. It was impossible for them to return it with any effect from their boats, and it was becoming too dark to see the enemy. They were unacquainted with the ground; the men were greatly fatigued (the First Pennsylvania having been under forced marches for twenty-four hours), and General Arnold thought it prudent to order them to return to *St. Ann's*, where they landed about eight o'clock.

Arnold had sent a number of *Caughnawaga* Indians to demand the surrender of the prisoners, threatening as

an alternative to sacrifice every Indian that fell into his hands, and to destroy their towns. These threats were received with defiance. They refused, and declared that they would massacre every prisoner they held, if any attack was made upon them. This was a trying ordeal for Arnold and his men. They were in sufficient force to punish the enemy, and the men were clamorous for vengeance. But such was the perilous situation of the prisoners that they were obliged to hesitate.

"I was torn by the conflicting passions of revenge and humanity," writes Arnold, "a sufficient force to take ample revenge raging for action, urged me on one hand, and humanity for five hundred unhappy wretches, who were upon the point of being sacrificed if our vengeance was not delayed, plead equally strong on the other."

A council of war, including all the captains, was called as soon as they returned to St. Ann's, at which Arnold proposed a surprise of Forster and the Indians, under cover of the night, by ascending the Grand river far enough to get in their rear. This proposition was opposed, however, by Colonels De Haas and Moses Hazen, who were satisfied, from their experience, that the Indians were too vigilant to be surprised, and the proposition was finally, after much debate, voted down by a majority of the council.

The council lasted until midnight, and at two o'clock in the morning the officer of the day announced the approach of Lieutenant Parke bearing a flag of truce. He was permitted to land and brought into camp articles which had been entered into by Major Sherburne and Captain Forster for an exchange of the prisoners. It was proposed in these articles that the Colonial troops should be liberated upon their parole, not to serve again

against the king's forces, and that the British troops should be liberated without any restraint. This was rejected by Arnold, and it was finally arranged that the prisoners should be exchanged upon equal terms. Those in Forster's hands, consisting of Majors Butterfield and Sherburne, nine captains, twenty lieutenants, and four hundred and forty-three soldiers, were to be sent to within one league of Caughnawaga, from thence to St. Johns and their homes. Six days were to be allowed for this purpose, and hostilities were to cease in the meantime. As there were not an equal number of prisoners in Arnold's hands, it was stipulated that Captains Sullivan and Bliss of Patterson's regiment, John Stevens of Burrell's and Ebed Greene of Bedel's regiment, should be sent to Quebec as hostages, until an equal number of British prisoners should be released.

Before this flag of truce was sent, Sherburne was carried by Forster into the council of the Indians, then sitting, who told him that it was a mercy never before shown in their wars, that they had put to death so few of their prisoners, but that he must expect, and so inform General Arnold, that they would certainly kill every man who thereafter fell into their hands. When the American prisoners were sent from the British camp, in pursuance of the above cartel, they were treated with every possible indignity by the British and savages. Balls of mud were fired at them amid their jeers, and the last detachment was fired upon with bullets.

Arnold set out in the evening for Montreal, after concluding this armistice, leaving Colonel De Haas in command. Some skirmishing was kept up, in which private Daniel McCulloh, of Captain Nelson's company, was killed on the 29th instant. The enemy abandoned Quinze

Chiens, and retreated above the Cedars, and Colonel De Haas fell back to La Chine on Thursday, the 30th.

Arnold left orders with Colonel De Haas to cross the Grand river and burn the Indian town of Canassadaga and the Fort of St. Ann's; but after consultation with his officers, a better feeling of humanity prevailed, and he declined to do so.

CHAPTER V.

An Attempt to Recover the Lost Ground down the St. Lawrence—Colonel St. Clair is sent against Three Rivers—Waiting Impatiently for the First Pennsylvania Regiment—General Wooster Relieved—General Sullivan Assumes Command of the Army—He Sends General Thompson with Additional Troops to Join St. Clair—Captains Jonathan Jones and Benjamin Davis join the Force under General Thompson with their Companies—Arrival of Resolutions of Congress—Additional Reinforcements of Militia and Indians ordered by Congress—The Battle of Three Rivers.

WHILE these active movements were going on above Montreal, General Thompson, at Sorel, having been informed that the banks of the St. Lawrence, two or three miles below Three Rivers, were high, and the channel within musket-shot of the shore, determined that as soon as the First Pennsylvania Regiment returned he would set out with them and some light artillery to fortify that place. Before he was able to carry out this design, however, he learned that Colonel Maclean, with about eight hundred regulars and Canadians, had advanced as far up the St. Lawrence as Three Rivers, and was intrenched at that place.

He accordingly sent Colonel St. Clair, with part of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, and Colonel Maxwell, with the Second New Jersey, in all between six hundred and seven hundred men, to attack Maclean's camp, if it could be done with the least prospect of success. He also wrote to General Arnold to send him the First Pennsylvania, and to Brigadier-General Baron de Woedtke, at St. Johns, to hasten forward the first regiment that should

arrive there from the south, intending, as soon as these troops should join him, to reinforce St. Clair with them, and make the most of his victory, if he was successful, or cover his retreat if he failed. "Could I have command of the Jersey and Pennsylvania regiments," he wrote to Washington on the 2d of June, with more confidence than his surroundings warranted, "I still believe, if I did not keep the country, it would require at least five thousand men to oblige us to evacuate it." More than double that number of British troops were then in Canada, but so little effort had been made by the American officers to obtain reliable information of the movements of the enemy, that they were entirely ignorant of the fact.

St. Clair, with his detachment, left Sorel in boats on the 1st of June, and dropped down through Lake St. Peter (a broad expanse of the St. Lawrence) to Nicolet, on the south side of that river, about nine miles above Three Rivers. Here he landed his troops, and awaited further developments.

In the meantime General Thompson* sent the sick and heavy baggage up the Sorel river to Chamblee and St. Johns, so as to facilitate his retreat should it become necessary, and stationed a guard of fifty men, composed of parts of Bond's, Bedel's, and Burrell's regiments, at Berthier, on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence. This,

* WILLIAM THOMPSON was a native of Ireland. He had been a captain in the seven years' war, and became colonel of the six companies of riflemen, afterwards increased to eight, raised in Pennsylvania by order of Congress in June, 1775. With them he joined Washington's army at Cambridge. He was made brigadier-general by Congress, March 1st, 1776, and was ordered to New York, where he arrived on the 20th, and commanded the post until the arrival of Washington, when he was ordered to Canada. He was taken prisoner at Three Rivers, and was not exchanged until 1778. He died near Carlisle, Pennsylvania, September 4th, 1781.

with the force sent against Maclean at Three Rivers, and the men detailed to row and attend the sick, depleted his force at Sorel to two hundred men. He therefore waited impatiently for the First Pennsylvania Regiment to join him. Colonel De Haas, in obedience to his orders, had left Montreal with the regiment on the 4th of June, and had proceeded to within eighteen miles of Sorel, when General Arnold, who had received intelligence that four hundred Indians were on Montreal Island, with the intention of attacking the outpost at La Chine, ordered him to return.

Upon the death of General Thomas, the command of the army devolved upon General John Sullivan, who arrived at Chamblee with his detachment from New York on the very day that General Thomas died. General Wooster had been relieved by order of Congress, and was then on his way to his home in Connecticut. He afterwards demanded an inquiry into his conduct in Canada, and the committee appointed by Congress for that purpose reported that nothing censurable or blameworthy appeared against him. He resigned his commission in the Continental army, was appointed first major-general of the Connecticut militia, and was killed in a skirmish near Ridgefield, Connecticut, April 27th, 1777, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Sullivan was so much elated at finding himself in possession of a separate command that he allowed his enthusiasm to get the better of his judgment. His head was completely turned by his unexpected good fortune. It led him to believe that the whole of Canada was within his grasp. "The enemy's ships are now above Deschambault," he wrote to Washington, "but if General Thompson succeeds at Three Rivers, I will soon remove the

ships below Richelieu Falls, and after that approach Quebec as fast as possible." This rodomontade, with others of like character that quickly followed it, raised false hopes in the breast of the commander-in-chief, which it took but a few days for the disastrous events which were then rapidly approaching to destroy.

His vanity led him with haste to speak disparagingly, and even contemptuously, of the misfortunes of the troops which had preceded him. He hastily ordered all the heavy baggage and intrenching tools back to Sorel, and embarked for that place himself on the 3d. He arrived there early on the 4th. "I venture to assure you and the Congress," he wrote vaingloriously to Washington, "that I can, in a few days, reduce the army to order, and with the assistance of a kind Providence, put a new face to our affairs here, which a few days since seemed almost impossible." He immediately repeated General Thompson's order to Arnold to send the First Pennsylvania Regiment to Sorel, and upon learning from Arnold that he had sent it back to La Chine, he sent dispatches to him by Captain John Lacey, of Wayne's Regiment, at four o'clock on the afternoon of the 5th, in which he stated that a number of the king's troops were between him and Three Rivers; that he expected soon to be attacked, and peremptorily ordered Arnold to send every man that could be spared to his assistance.

Sullivan wrote to Washington, with some impatience, of Arnold's conduct. "By some strange kind of conduct in General Arnold," he wrote, "directly contrary to repeated orders, he has kept that detachment (Colonel De Haas') dancing between this and Montreal ever since my arrival."

Sullivan and Thompson were anxious for the presence

of these Pennsylvania troops, because they were obliged to rely for support almost entirely upon them. Sullivan and Colonel Trumbull, both New England men, frequently spoke of them as the élite and flower of the army. The New England troops were so much infected with or afraid of small-pox, that they were almost prevented by the disease or their fears of it from doing duty. Of the fifteen regiments which then composed the army, De Haas', St. Clair's, Wayne's, and Irvine's Pennsylvania, and Wind's and Maxwell's New Jersey regiments constituted nearly the whole available force. The six New England regiments of Groaton, Bond, Patterson, Stark, Reed, and Poor did not together contain one hundred men fit for duty.

On the evening of Thursday (the 6th), Sullivan sent General Thompson with three companies of Wayne's, the remainder of St. Clair's, and the whole of Irvine's regiments, in all about one thousand men, to reinforce Colonel St. Clair at Nicolet. They reached there at midnight, when General Thompson assumed command of the whole force. "I have the highest opinion of the bravery and resolution of the troops you command," wrote Sullivan in his instructions to General Thompson, "and doubt not but under the direction of a kind Providence you will open the way for our recovering that ground which former troops have so shamefully lost."

On the receipt of Sullivan's last order, Arnold immediately sent the companies of Jonathan Jones and Benjamin Davis in boats down the St. Lawrence. They touched at Sorel on the night of the 6th, and were ordered by Sullivan to immediately follow General Thompson down the river. They crossed Lake St. Peter that night, keeping close to the southern shore, and joined the troops at Nicolet on the morning of the 7th. They

were placed under the command of Colonel Wayne. Their arms were wet, and the men were much fatigued. The other companies of the First Pennsylvania, owing to the scarcity of boats, were sent by Arnold to Chamblee, and they reached Sorel on the 8th, the day of the battle of Three Rivers.

Captain Ebenezer Stevens, with the two companies of artillery under his command, was also ordered to Three Rivers, but the ground not proving favorable for artillery he was ordered back by General Thompson without landing.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 8th of June, Sullivan also sent Colonel Wind's First New Jersey Regiment to reinforce Thompson, but they did not reach him in time to participate in the battle of Three Rivers.

As General Thompson was about embarking from Sorel for Nicolet, the resolutions of Congress, passed May 25th, arrived and infused new spirit and determination into the troops. The resolutions set forth that Canada was of the last importance to the welfare of the United Colonies. "Should our troops retire before the enemy," said the letter of the President of Congress which enclosed them, "and entirely evacuate that province, it is not in human wisdom to foretell the consequences. In this case the loss of Canada will not be all—the whole frontiers of the New England and New York governments will be exposed, not only to the ravages of Indians, but also the British forces. Congress are determined not to relinquish the expedition or give it up."

As an earnest of their sincerity in the matter, they sent to General Schuyler on the same day the last penny of hard money they had in the treasury, amounting exactly to £1662 ls. 3d.

At the same time came a letter from Washington addressed to the late General Thomas. "This unfortunate affair (the retreat from Quebec)," he wrote, "has given a sad shock to our schemes in that quarter and blasted the hope we entertained of reducing that fortress and the whole of Canada to our possession."

Congress also resolved, on the 1st of June, that six thousand militia should be employed from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and New York to reinforce the army in Canada, and keep open the communications with that province. They also reversed their previous policy in relation to the employment of Indians in the military service, and resolved to raise three thousand of them for service in Canada. General Schuyler, who was well acquainted with the temper of the Indians of that region, inquired, in reply, where these Indians were to come from, and gave it as his opinion that the utmost that could be hoped from them in the waning state of the American cause in Canada was neutrality. For the purpose of securing even this much from them, he subsequently held a conference, by direction of Washington, and made a treaty with the Six Nations at German Flats.

During the whole of Friday, the 7th of June, the troops lay quietly at Nicolet, partly to refresh the men, and partly because they could not have crossed the river without being discovered from the enemy's vessels which were then lying, ten in number, at anchor five miles above Three Rivers.

Everything was in readiness, however, and at nine o'clock on the night of the 7th they crossed the lower end of Lake St. Peter, about three miles above the shipping, and landed at Point Du Lac, on the opposite side,

about nine miles above Three Rivers. Here General Thompson detailed a guard of two hundred and fifty men, under Major Joseph Wood, of the Second Pennsylvania, to take charge of the boats, which were about fifty in number. The remaining force under General Thompson was divided into five divisions, commanded by Colonels Maxwell, St. Clair, Wayne, and Irvine, and Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Hartley of the Sixth Pennsylvania, whose division formed the reserve. Thus organized they began their march rapidly for Three Rivers. It will be observed that this entire force was composed of Pennsylvania troops, with the exception of Maxwell's New Jersey regiment, and that it was commanded by a Pennsylvania general. They were ignorant of the force of the enemy (as to which, as they soon discovered, they had been greatly deceived) and of the country, which made them entirely dependent upon their guides. Through the treachery of these they were led out of their way into a deep morass, which was almost impassable. They struggled through it with great perseverance, difficulty, and fatigue, up to their waists for hours, some of the men losing their shoes and stockings. Finding it impossible to proceed in that direction, they returned toward the St. Lawrence, but it was daybreak before they were able to extricate themselves from the swamp. They were then opposite the enemy's shipping, from which a fierce cannonade was opened upon them that was distinctly heard at Sorel. The fire was returned by the troops with small arms (for they had no artillery), with some effect upon a squad in a barge.

Though exhausted by their night struggle in the marsh, they continued their march for three-quarters of a mile, within fifty yards of the river, under a galling fire from

the shipping, when they were driven off from the shore by the effect which the fire began to produce upon their ranks, and soon became entangled in the swamp again. At this point the divisions of St. Clair and Irvine separated from the divisions of Maxwell, Wayne, and Hartley, the two former, with General Thompson, marching in a north-easterly direction back from the river; the three latter divisions continuing their march near the shore. Colonel Wayne's division (with whom were Captains Jones' and Davis' companies of the First Pennsylvania) was in advance, and reached the clearing in front of the town about 8 o'clock. It was supported by Maxwell's division, with the reserve under Hartley in the rear. Wayne here discovered the advance-guard of the enemy, composed of the Ninth and Sixty-second regiments of Light Infantry and a few Indians under Colonel Maclean.

After the retreat of the colonial troops from Quebec, General Carleton had ordered all the British troops to assemble at Three Rivers, where it was expected the Americans would make a stand. For this place the reinforcements pushed forward with great expedition, by land and water, as fast as they arrived. A large number of British and Irish regiments were now there under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, who had sailed from Spithead on the 4th of April, in the frigate *Blonde*. A portion of these were intrenched on shore, with Maclean's Royal Highland Emigrants, a body of Indians, and Canadian volunteers under command of Brigadier-General Simon Fraser. The remainder were on board the vessels in the river, with a portion of the Brunswick regiment Riedesel, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Specht, who were on board the *Harmony*.

The companies of Captains Strangway and Ferguson,

the light infantry companies of the Twenty-fourth Regiment, and two companies of the Thirty-fourth Regiment, were detailed to guard the pass of the river, and took no part in the engagement. General Carleton, who had gone back to Quebec temporarily, returned to Three Rivers on the evening of the 8th, the day of the battle.

Wayne at once attacked the advance-guard of the enemy and drove them in upon the main body, two thousand or three thousand strong, under Brigadier-General Fraser, strongly intrenched before the town. The Americans, though wearied by loss of sleep and their toilsome march through the swamp, displayed great courage and gallantry, but the enemy opened such a murderous fire upon them from behind their works that they were forced to give way. There was some loss on both sides.

In the meantime the British shipping had dropped down the river, and Brigadier-General Nesbitt landed with troops in the rear of the Americans.

St. Clair's and Irvine's divisions, with General Thompson, by this time had reached the edge of the swamp half a mile above, on the left, and were advancing to support Wayne and Maxwell; but not being able to rally the men, who by this time were retreating in disorder and confusion, General Thompson ordered the whole force to fall back fifty paces, to the cover of the wood.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley, perceiving the confusion, led up the reserves, and endeavored to cover the retreat. He engaged the enemy with much spirit, but was obliged by the overwhelming force to fall back.

Wayne succeeded in forming his men at the edge of the wood, and for a few moments held the enemy in check; but perceiving that a strong detachment had landed from

the vessels in his rear, and cut off the retreat to the boats, and the overwhelming numbers which were advancing in his front, he ordered a retreat, which took place in much confusion and disorder. It was impossible to regain the road, which had been occupied by the enemy, and the Americans fled with precipitation into the swamp.

Generals Fraser and Nesbitt followed by the road along the river's edge with a large body, as far as La Chine and Point Du Lac, at the foot of Lake St. Peter.

Wayne retreated with his division close to the river, and kept up a running fire with the enemy, in an endeavor to reach the boats, which had been left under guard at Point Du Lac. They came within sight of them. All except two (which had been captured) had been removed by Major Wood and the guard, who had escaped in them up the river, and the enemy were in possession of the landing. The shipping of the enemy was also passing up the river to cut off all the ferries. Nothing was left, therefore, to the unfortunate Continentals, but the hard fate of continuing their retreat through the woods and deep, endless morasses, without food, lying down at night, near the enemy, to sleep from sheer exhaustion.

General Thompson and Colonel Irvine, with about forty men (afterwards reduced to seven), were cut off from the main body, and wandered about the swamps utterly exhausted, for twenty-four hours, when, finding themselves surrounded, they surrendered to General Nesbitt, who treated them cruelly, and marched them, under a strong guard, with the common crowd of prisoners, for six miles to headquarters. "Generals Carleton and Burgoyne were both there, who treated us very politely," Colonel Irvine notes in his diary; "they

ordered us refreshments immediately; indeed, General Burgoyne served us himself."

On the following day, which was Sunday, the British forces were ordered back to their stations at Three Rivers. The colonial troops, which were scattered through the marshes, began to join the main body until their numbers were increased to twelve hundred, with which force they arrived at Berthier, opposite the mouth of the Sorel, on the evening of the 10th.*

Colonel Wayne, in an order to his troops dated the 11th, says of them:—"Their spirited conduct in bravely attacking and sustaining the fire from both great and small arms of an enemy more than ten times their number, merits the colonel's highest approbation."

The American loss in the battle of Three Rivers was about two hundred prisoners and twenty-five killed, most of the latter being from Wayne's and Maxwell's divisions, who had borne the brunt of the fight. Chaplain McCalla, of the First Pennsylvania, was among the prisoners.

* LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HARTLEY, in writing of this battle, says:—"Not a man of McClean's company behaved ill. Grier's company behaved well. Several of the enemy were killed in the attack of the reserve. Under the disadvantages our men would fight, but we had no covering, no artillery, and no prospects of succeeding, as the number of the enemy was so much superior to ours. Colonel Wayne behaved exceedingly well, and showed himself the man of courage and the soldier. Colonel Allen exerted himself, and is a fine fellow. Colonel Maxwell was often in the midst of danger. His own division was not present to support him. He was also very useful in the retreat, after he joined Colonel Wayne. Lieutenant Edie, of the York troops, I fear, is killed. He was a fine young fellow, and behaved bravely. He approached the enemy's works without dismay several times, and remained in the swamps to the last. He was in the second engagement, where it is supposed he was killed. Ensign Hopes, of the same company, was wounded near the breast-work, when I led up the reserve. I can not give too much commendation of him. He showed the greatest courage after he had received several wounds in the arm. He stood his ground and animated his men. He nobly made good his retreat with me, through a swamp of near eighteen miles long. The ball has hurt the bone. Several of our men were killed—I apprehend between thirty and fifty. The rest missing, have been taken, quite worn-out with fatigue and hunger."

The British loss was eight killed, including a sergeant of the Thirty-first and three men of the Twentieth Regiments, and nine wounded, eight of whom were of the Sixty-second regiment. The wounded of both sides were taken together to the Convent of the Ursulines, where they received humane treatment at the hands of the nuns. The prisoners were released by Carleton on their parole, and sent to New York on the 6th of August.

It becomes marvelous in the extreme, when we recount the perils of their situation, that so many of the Americans escaped. The movement was a daring and courageous one, ill-advised though it proved to be. It exposed the whole force, through the difficulties of the country, the great superiority of the enemy by land and water, and the forlorn condition of the Americans, to imminent danger of capture. The advantages were all with the British. That they failed to reap the benefit of them, was owing in no small degree to the courage, endurance, and indomitable spirit of the American troops.

When the news of the defeat at Three Rivers reached the colonies, great fears were naturally entertained for the safety of the whole army. "The accounts transmitted by General Sullivan are truly alarming," wrote Washington to Schuyler, when he received the news of that disaster, "and I confess I am not without apprehension lest the next advices should be that the unfortunate defeat and taking of General Thompson has been succeeded by an event still more unfortunate—the destruction of a large part, if not the whole, of our army in that quarter. The weak, divided, and disheartened state in which General Sullivan represents it to be, does not seem to promise anything much more favorable, and is what General Arnold appears to be suspicious of." The de-

spondency expressed in this letter was shared by Congress and the colonists, who had been looking hopefully for more satisfactory results.

The fate of this army had been a hard one ; and many months of peril and suffering were yet before it, but against this total destruction, which was reasonably to be anticipated, and which would have brought relief to their bodies, their spirits were destined to contend successfully, and to bring them safely out of their present perils, to render their country signal service before the campaign was over.

CHAPTER VI.

Sullivan's force after the Battle of Three Rivers—Condition of the Troops—Desertions—Fortifying the post at Sorel—The Retreat—The retreating Americans reach Chamblee—Brunswick and Hessian troops—George III. contracts for them with the German princes—Departure of the first detachment for Quebec under Riedesel—Arrival of General Burgoyne with British reinforcements—The British army which ascended the St. Lawrence—Pursuit of the Americans up the Sorel river—The Americans burn Chamblee and continue their retreat to St. Johns—The sick are sent to Isle aux Noix—Arnold's retreat from Montreal—The Americans retreat to Isle aux Noix, and the British occupy St. Johns—Congress and Washington reconciled to the situation—Congress inquires into the causes of the disasters in Canada.

SULLIVAN'S effective force at the mouth of the Sorel, after the battle of Three Rivers, did not exceed twenty-five hundred men. It was made up of four hundred and twenty-four New England troops belonging to the regiments of Stark (New Hampshire), Porter (Massachusetts), and Burrell (Connecticut); six hundred and eighty-one New Jersey troops of Wind's and Maxwell's regiments; and one thousand three hundred and sixty-one men of the Pennsylvania regiments of De Haas, St. Clair, Wayne, and Irvine. In addition to these there were four companies of artillery with two four-pounders.

The remainder of the army was scattered at different posts in the neighborhood. Reed's New Hampshire and Patterson's Massachusetts, with three hundred men fit for duty, were at Montreal; Poor's New Hampshire, with two hundred and seventy-seven men fit for duty, and

Greaton's Massachusetts, every man of which was in the hospital, were at St. Johns. Parts of Bond's Massachusetts, Bedel's New Hampshire, and Burrell's Connecticut regiments formed the guard at Berthier, on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence; and part of Porter's Massachusetts regiment was at Chamblee. There were about three thousand sick at St. Johns.

Small-pox, famine, raggedness, defeat, and disorder had broken the spirit of this little army and rendered it very inefficient. The patriots of whom it was composed had patiently and perseveringly suffered every privation and physical hardship they were able to bear, and had made every effort they were able to make to retain their hold upon Canada. But everything had been against them from the first, and now was added the insurmountable disadvantage of an enemy greatly superior in numbers and completely equipped. If any one was responsible for the loss of Canada the blame could not be laid to the charge of these suffering troops. They had been sent in mid-winter, without credit, without supplies either of money, provisions, clothing, or munitions of war, and without the necessary reinforcements, into a country which, though friendly at first, had become practically a hostile province. To these difficulties, most of which might have been avoided, was superadded the calamity of a loathsome and fatal disease, which, taking advantage of their weakness, had made frightful gaps in their ranks, had carried off their general, and left the whole army almost without hope.

Notwithstanding their forlorn condition, a severe measure of duty was exacted of them. An order of the day, issued on the 11th, ran as follows:—"Every non-commissioned officer or soldier who shall come to the parade

dirty, with a long beard, or his breeches-knees open, shall be mulcted of a day's allowance of provision, and do a double tour of duty."

Desertions from Sorel, St. Johns, and Chamblee were of daily occurrence. Rather than longer endure the hardships of the camp, the deserters preferred to face the dangers of starvation in the wilderness bordering on the sides of the lakes through which they were obliged to pass before they could reach their homes.

Despite the distressed and forlorn condition of these men, unwearied pains were taken to fortify the post at Sorel. Earthworks were thrown up enclosing the camp, and a battery was erected on the north side of the river, upon which three guns of heavy calibre were mounted. But these were the works of desperate men, bent on doing their whole duty with all the means at their command, rather than the fruits of a hopeful design of holding the place against the progress of the victorious British army, for when information reached them that the British fleet had entered Lake St. Peter, Sullivan called a council of war to consider the situation, and it was unanimously resolved that it would be worse than useless to attempt to defend the place against the guns of the fleet and the superior numbers of the enemy, who had with them a very complete train of artillery. A retreat was accordingly determined upon. Hasty preparations were made, and on the 14th, in dejection and suffering, the army moved toward the south. The annals of war do not contain a sadder tale than is furnished by the story of this retreat. They brought everything off with them. Not even an intrenching tool was left behind. Their afflicted comrades were the special object of their solicitude, and it mattered not that they carried with

them the pestilence that had eaten the very life out of the army. The baggage, heavy ordnance, and stores were placed on board of several vessels under the charge of Major Nathan Fuller, of Bond's regiment. With the aid of favorable winds these vessels made very good progress for a few miles, when they were becalmed, and soon fell behind. General Sullivan found it necessary to send back one hundred bateaux to their relief in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. To these bateaux every thing was transferred and the vessels burned. They rowed their boats against the current of the Sorel river and marched by the shore. Though weary from fatigue and improper nourishment, they were obliged to drag the boats containing the batteries, baggage, provisions, and sick over the lower rapids, where the water was only one and a half feet deep—wading up to their waists in mud and water; but by that untiring perseverance which characterized all the movements of that remarkable struggle, they brought everything up but the three pieces of heavy ordnance which had mounted the battery at Sorel. "The fatigue we had to save our bateaux, cannon, &c.," General Sullivan writes, "and get them over the rapids, was beyond anything that ever I went through, and what was never done by an army in our situation before, and what, for my own part, I never wish to attempt again."

About 9 o'clock on Saturday night, the 15th, the head of the army reached Chamblee, and the men, overwhelmed with fatigue, and poorly refreshed on pork and flour, lay down to rest. The night was very dark, and the rain poured down in torrents. Every place along the road that afforded shelter was crowded with the unfortunate soldiers who composed this shattered army.

Thus huddled together, they were permitted for a few hours to forget in sleep their great sufferings.

Leaving them there, we will retrace our steps for a moment, and follow the progress of the British army, which was then in close pursuit upon their rear.

Reinforcements for this army had continued to arrive at Quebec in detachments until the 1st of June, during the night of which day the first division of the Brunswick troops arrived.

In the fall of 1775, George III. applied to the Empress Catharine of Russia for twenty thousand Russian troops, upon any terms which she might name, to be employed in subduing his subjects in America; but she rejected his proposition with indignation. He afterwards applied with more success to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Count of Hesse-Hanau. For each soldier furnished by them they received the sum of £7 4s. 4d., as much more for every one that was killed, and, in addition, an annual subsidy of one hundred crowns per head.

In pursuance of the treaty made with these German princes, a regiment of unmounted dragoons, under Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, who fell at Bennington in the following year; a regiment of infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Praetorius, named the Prince Frederick; a regiment of infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Specht, named Riedesel; and a battalion of grenadiers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, who was mortally wounded at Saratoga, October 7th, 1777, numbering in all about two thousand five hundred men, and commanded by Major-General Riedesel, marched from Brunswick, on the 22d of February, for Stade, in Hanover, from whence they sailed down the Elbe on the 21st of March, and

arrived at Spithead on the 28th. Here they remained for a week, which was consumed in an interchange of hospitalities between the British officers and General Riedesel. They were joined at Spithead, on the 30th, by a regiment of Hesse-Hanau troops, six hundred strong, under Colonel Von Gall, who was subsequently made a brigadier-general. The bartering of these troops created great indignation throughout Germany. Frederick the Great denounced the practice, and made those who were obliged to pass through his dominion pay toll like "cattle exported for foreign shambles." It has been said that the Landgrave Frederick II. kept up a splendid court on the proceeds of the pay, amounting to £3,000,000, which the British Government gave him for the services of the twenty-two thousand Hessians who fought against the Americans in the war of independence.

On the 4th of April the fleet set sail from Spithead, consisting of sixteen vessels containing the Brunswick troops, four vessels containing the Hesse-Hanau troops, six vessels containing the English corps of artillery under command of Major-General William Phillips, and two transports with provisions and ammunition. The whole were convoyed by the frigate *Juno*, Captain Dalrymple, and the frigate *Blonde*, thirty-six guns, Captain Brunel, on board of which was Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne. At Plymouth the fleet was joined by six additional ships with the Twenty-first British regiment on board.

When these troops reached Quebec, the Brunswick regiments of dragoons and Prince Frederick were left there as the garrison of that city, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Baum. All the rest were sent up to Three Rivers to join the reinforcements which had previously arrived.

The British army thus assembled at Three Rivers, and which ascended the St. Lawrence in pursuit of the retreating Americans, consisted of Maclean's Royal Highland Emigrants, the Canadian volunteers, a body of Indians, the English grenadiers and light infantry, the following regiments of foot, consisting of ten companies of fifty-six men each:—The Ninth (Ligonier's), Twentieth (Parker's), Twenty-first, Twenty-fourth (Taylor's), Twenty-ninth (Evelyn's), Thirty-first, Thirty-fourth (Lord Cavendish's), Forty-seventh (Carleton's)—which had been at Bunker's Hill,—Fifty-third (Elphinstone's), and Sixty-second (Jones'), the British corps of artillery, consisting of six companies under Major-General Phillips, the Brunswick battalion of grenadiers and regiment of infantry Riedesel, and Colonel Von Gall's Hanau regiment,—amounting in all to about ten thousand men, amply provided with everything that could contribute to the comfort and efficiency of a soldier.

They proceeded slowly and cautiously up Lake St. Peter in the vessels which composed the fleet, those only whose transports had not come up marching along the north shore, under command of General Fraser. Extraordinary precautions were taken to guard against surprise. The guns of the vessels were loaded, strong guards were kept upon the decks, patrol-boats were constantly out about the ships, and squads of Indians and Canadians also patrolled the shores in their canoes day and night.

On the evening of the 14th of June, the fleet arrived off the mouth of the Sorel river, a few hours after Sullivan's army had evacuated the works at that place. The retreat of the Americans had been so long delayed that the guard at Berthier, opposite Sorel, was obliged to

abandon the boats, and escape by the way of Montreal and Chamblee.

The British grenadiers and light infantry and part of General Nesbitt's brigade occupied the abandoned works at Sorel that night. The next morning additional troops, including part of the artillery, were landed from the fleet, and the whole column placed under command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, with instructions to cautiously pursue the retreating American army, but to venture nothing until he was supported by the column which was to march by the way of Longueil and La Prairie.

The fleet then proceeded up the river to Longueil, and from it General Carleton landed with the remainder of the troops on the evening of the 16th. They were furnished with four days' rations, and began that same night the fatiguing march for St. Johns, by the way of La Prairie, in the rain, and under the burden of their wet blankets, commanded by Major-General Phillips. They were followed by the two regiments of Brunswick troops and one of Hanau, under command of Major-General Riedesel. The horses had not been landed, and officers and men alike were obliged to march on foot. General Fraser's* corps also crossed the St. Lawrence and brought up the rear. These columns were joined in their march by many Canadians, volunteers, and Indians. Learning that Montreal had been evacuated, General Carleton sent the Twenty-ninth regiment there to do garrison duty, whither he also repaired himself. He remained there until the 26th, when he established his headquarters at Chamblee.

* Neither Nesbitt, Fraser, nor Phillips survived the war. Nesbitt died at Quebec shortly after the retreat of the British army from Crown Point; Fraser was killed at Saratoga, October 7th, 1777, and Phillips died at Petersburg, Virginia, May 13th, 1781.

On Sunday morning, the 16th, the fortifications and saw-mills at Chamblee, with the row-galleys and four schooners, were burned by the American troops, who then continued their retreat toward St. Johns, thirteen miles above, burning all bridges behind them as they went.

The bateaux, with the baggage, ordnance, and stores, were in the rear, under a guard of five hundred men, commanded by Major Fuller. They had barely quitted one end of Chamblee when the advance-guard of the column under Burgoyne entered it at the other. Considerable skirmishing was kept up between these parties in the woods and underbrush above Chamblee, until large reinforcements were sent back by General Sullivan, which brought off the rear and the bateaux in safety.

The sick had been sent on ahead from St. Johns to Isle aux Noix. But two men could be spared from those fit for duty to row each boatload of them, and these pulled wearily all night long, with their helpless burdens, against the current of the river, for the distance of twelve miles. They reached Isle aux Noix just before day. The sick were landed on the island with great haste, and the boats sent back to bring up the army, for they were as scantily supplied with boats as they were with everything else. What more distressing situation can be imagined?

The greater number of the sick were utterly helpless, some died on the way, others were dying,—all crying out for relief which could not be furnished them. "It broke my heart," wrote Dr. Meyrick, a surgeon who was with them on the Isle aux Noix, "and I wept till I had no more power to weep. I wiped my eyes, pitched my tents, and others did the same, so that in about an hour the sick were all out of sight."



J^r. Sullivan

On Monday, the 17th, the rear of Sullivan's army got safely up to St. Johns, incumbered with their baggage, stores, and provisions. They found General Arnold there with his little party of three hundred men of Reed's and Patterson's regiments, comprising the garrison of Montreal. They had crossed the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Longueil on the previous Saturday night, bringing everything with them, and had marched twenty-six miles on Sunday, by the way of La Prairie to St. Johns, burning the bridge over Little river behind them. Arnold had been at Chamblee and St. Johns for several days looking after the goods he had seized from the merchants at Montreal. From there he wrote to General Sullivan on the 13th, "The junction of the Canadas with the Colonies is now at an end. Let us quit them, and secure our own country before it is too late," and returned to Montreal on the 14th to await events. When Sullivan learned that Arnold was retreating from Montreal, and in danger of being intercepted by the enemy, he sent a party under General Wayne to cover his retreat; but this party had marched but a short distance when it was discovered that Arnold was safe. At St. Johns the retreating army found also Poor's and Greacon's regiments forming the garrison of that place.

Another council of war was held at St. Johns, at which it was determined not to attempt to hold the place, but to continue the retreat to Crown Point. The barracks and fortifications were stripped of everything and burned, and the troops began immediately to embark in their boats for Isle aux Noix, which place the last of them reached on the night of the 18th. Major John Bigelow, with an artillery squad of forty men, was posted at St. Johns to protect the retreat. Arnold was the last

man to leave the shore. The advance of the enemy was then in sight. He stripped his horse of his accoutrements, shot him through the head, and pushed the last boat off with his own hands.

The head of the British column which marched under Burgoyne up the Sorel river occupied St. Johns on the night of the 18th, and the advance of the other column, which marched from Longueil, under Major-General Phillips, reached St. Johns on the morning of the 19th of June.

At this point the pursuit ended. The Americans, with their terrible burden, destitute of almost everything but courage and patriotism, had made good their retreat, had brought everything off with them, and left desolation in their path behind them. But a few hours in time separated the pursuers from the pursued. There was a road up the bank of the Sorel river as far as, and beyond, Isle aux Noix. The island lay within half-musket shot of the shore. The British numbers were three-fold greater than the American, to say nothing of their vast superiority of condition and equipment. Yet beyond this point the Americans were allowed to choose their own time, and conduct their further retreat in their own way, as the circumstances of their distressed condition required. Viewed in the light of all its surroundings, their escape was no less than a substantial victory.

To this inevitable result of the expedition into Canada, after the manner in which it had been conducted, Congress seems to have been easily reconciled. "The loss of Canada," wrote Hancock to Washington, "is undoubtedly on some accounts to be viewed in the light of a misfortune. The continent has been put to a great expense in endeavoring to get possession of it. That our

army should make so prudent a retreat as to be able to save their baggage, cannon, ammunition, and sick from falling into the hands of the enemy, is a circumstance that will afford a partial consolation, and reflect honor upon the officers who conducted it. Considering the superior force of the British troops, and a retreat unavoidable, everything has been done which in such a situation could be expected. In short, sir, I am extremely glad that our army is likely to get safe out of Canada."

In this view of the situation Washington acquiesced. In replying to this letter of the President of Congress, he wrote, "Canada, it is certain, would have been an important acquisition, and well worth the expenses incurred in the pursuit of it. But as we could not reduce it to our possession, the retreat of our army with so little loss, under such a variety of distresses, must be esteemed a most fortunate event."

A committee of Congress, subsequently appointed to inquire into the causes of the disasters in Canada, attributed them to the short enlistment of the troops, the want of hard money, and the prevalence of small-pox.

CHAPTER VII.

At Isle aux Noix—Distressing Condition of the American Troops—Evacuation of Canada—Removal of the Sick to Crown Point—Massacre of Pennsylvanians by the Enemy's Indians—Their Burial and Epitaph—The Retreat from Isle aux Noix to Isle la Motte and Crown Point—Encampment of the Troops at that place.

ISLE AUX NOIX (a narrow island in the Sorel river, a mile long by a quarter of a mile wide) then contained about eight thousand officers and men, the remnants of "as fine an army," wrote General Gates, "as ever marched into Canada." They were all crowded together, half of them prostrated with small-pox and other diseases, and many of them, especially the Eastern troops, infested with vermin.

The island derived its name from the hazel bushes on its northern end, and was covered with clover. It was low and flat, situated in the midst of a swampy, malarious country, and had been a military position of more or less importance in all the wars of that region. The only buildings then upon it were a house and barn occupied by a French family. The four Pennsylvania regiments were encamped on the east side of the island. The days were intensely hot and the dews very heavy. The air was infected by the sick, the dead, and the dying. This, together with the malarious condition of the country and the fact that the men had had nothing to eat for so long but salt pork and unbolted flour, and nothing to slake

their burning thirst with but the poisonous water of the lake, threatened the speedy destruction of the whole army. As a consequence of their wretched condition, a camp disorder broke out among them. From twenty to sixty in a regiment were taken down with it in a day; they dropped down while on parade. "I am almost distracted," wrote Sullivan to Washington, "with the thoughts of losing so many men as daily go off by sickness." All of the field officers and many of the men of the First Pennsylvania Regiment were prostrated with it. "To give you a particular account of the miserable state of our troops here," wrote Sullivan to Congress, "and the numbers which daily keep dropping into their beds and graves, would rather seem like the effect of imagination than the history of facts."

A large pit was dug as a burial-place for each camp. To the edge of this pit the dead were carried in blankets as soon as the breath was out of their bodies. Without ceremony they were rolled into it in the rags in which they died, and at night barely enough earth was thrown over them to hide them from sight. This charnel-house was thus ready to receive another layer of those who should perish in wretchedness on the following day. They found not even decent sepulture, when their miseries were ended, nor any memorial of the sacrifice they made for the cause of American liberty.

Sullivan, a brave and gallant officer, who retreated very reluctantly, had hoped against hope to be able to strengthen the old French intrenchments, and make a stand on the Isle aux Noix. It was their last foothold in Canada. The line of New York was only ten miles away. The same heroic spirit which had sustained these unfortunate troops in so many trials now led them to

think of holding this place long after every possibility of their being able to do so had vanished, in the brave determination that nothing on their part should remain undone to carry out the wishes of their countrymen respecting Canada. But they had conquered every other obstacle, only to be destroyed by disease. The unhealthiness of the locality, and the awful mortality among the troops, at length compelled Sullivan, with the advice of all his officers, to abandon Isle aux Noix and continue the retreat. "One fortnight longer in this place," he wrote in despair to Washington, "will not leave us well men enough to carry off the sick."

At noon, on Thursday (the 20th), they began to move the sick to Crown Point, in the shallow boats (then the worse for wear) which had been rudely constructed in the spring to carry the army over the lakes into Canada. Sullivan sent a letter with the sick to General Schuyler, which contained the following passage:—"I send on the sick, the looks and numbers of which will present you with the most dismal spectacle ever furnished from one army in this quarter of the globe." The boats were leaky and without awnings. The sick were laid in their wet bottoms, without beds or blankets or covering of any description. The hot mid-summer sun beat down upon them without moderation. Many of the New England regiments were so much reduced by sickness that it was necessary to draft men from the Pennsylvania regiments to row them. This weary, suffering journey from Isle aux Noix to Crown Point occupied five long days and nights, with nothing but salt pork (often rancid) and unbaked flour upon which to sustain their miserable existence. The army had received but three or four days fresh provisions since it had entered Canada.

The Americans remained for eight days on Isle aux Noix, without any attempt having been made on the part of the British to dislodge them. They had sent scouting parties up the west bank of the river to watch the movements of the Americans; and, if possible, to run off their boats. Their Indians continually lurked in ambush on the flanks of the Americans, making it dangerous to venture beyond the lines, but their main body kept close within its lines at St. Johns. On the 24th, one of these scouting parties, composed chiefly of Indians, surprised a party of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment which had crossed from the camp "to fish and divert themselves." They were drinking spruce beer, unarmed, at a Canadian cabin, when they were surprised by the savages. Captain Adams, Lieutenant Culbertson, and two privates were killed and scalped. Captain McClean, Lieutenants McFerren, McAlister, and Hoge, and two privates, were made prisoners. A party from camp came to their rescue at the first alarm, and enabled Captain Rippey and Ensign Lusk, the other members of the party, to make their escape. Colonel Wayne, with a detachment, was sent in pursuit of the savages, but was not able to overtake them, and returned to camp without having discovered any signs of the enemy.

The bodies of the massacred Pennsylvanians were removed to Isle aux Noix and decently buried. A rude stone was erected over their remains by their comrades, bearing the following inscription:—"Beneath this humble sod lie Captain Adams, Lieutenant Culbertson, and two privates of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment. Not hirelings, but Patriots. They fell not in battle, but unarmed. They were basely murdered and inhumanly scalped by

the barbarous emissaries of the once just—but now abandoned—kingdom of Britain.”

EPITAPH.

“Sons of America! rest in quiet here.
Britannia, blush! Burgoyne, let fall a tear.
And tremble, Europe's son, with savage ease,
Death and Revenge await you with disgrace.”

On the 26th, the retreat of the American army from Isle aux Noix began. It was conducted by slow stages. The next resting-place was Isle la Motte, twenty-five miles to the south. This island was selected because it was much larger, higher, and healthier than Isle aux Noix.

There were not boats enough to transport the whole army. Nearly all they possessed had gone forward with the sick to Crown Point. Colonel Wynkoop, at Ticonderoga, had been ordered by Schuyler to send all the boats he could procure down the lake to the assistance of the retreating army. Schuyler also sent an express to Fort George, where there were about one hundred and fifty boats, with orders to send them to the relief of the army, but there were so few men to take them down the lake, that but a small number were sent. None of these had as yet arrived, and a large detachment was therefore obliged to march twenty-six miles along the west side of the lake by an Indian path, knee-deep through a swamp, to Point au Fer, at which place there was then a brick house, commonly known as the White House. From this point they were taken off by boats, and carried over to Isle la Motte, which lay nearly opposite.

From Isle la Motte, the retreat was continued to Crown Point, at which place the rear of the army arrived on the

night of the 2d of July. Here they pitched what tents they had, built sheds with the lumber they could procure, and huts, for those who could not otherwise be sheltered, out of hemlock bushes. In these rude structures, the sick and well, without discrimination, bestowed themselves as best they could. "I can truly say," writes Colonel Trumbull, the Adjutant-General, who made an inspection of them for the purpose of making a return; "I can truly say that I did not look into tent or hut in which I did not find a dead or dying man." They numbered about five thousand two hundred who were fit for duty, and two thousand eight hundred sick. To convey some idea of the sufferings this army had undergone, it may be mentioned that the loss from death, desertion, and other causes, from the time they entered Canada until they left it, amounted to nearly five thousand men—about forty per cent. of their whole number. They still buried from fifteen to twenty of their comrades every day. "Our misfortunes in Canada," wrote John Adams, from Philadelphia, "are enough to melt a heart of stone. The small-pox is ten times more terrible than British, Canadians, and Indians together. There has been want approaching famine, as well as pestilence."

Though the condition of these troops was as distressing in all respects as it well could be, the strictest measures were adopted to keep the men clean. Numerous orders, having that special object in view, were issued from time to time. The following was made by Colonel Wayne on the 7th:—"A barber for each company is also to be nominated, for the purpose of shaving the soldiers and dressing their hair, who shall be allowed four pence per man per week out of his wages. The colonel is determined to punish every man who comes on parade with

a long beard, slovenly dressed, or dirty, in the severest manner, especially for neglect of his arms. They, at all events, must at all times be clean and fit for service."

To the speedy remedying of the distressing state of the army the attention of all was soon turned. "You will see from the enclosed resolves, which I do myself the pleasure of forwarding, in obedience to the commands of Congress," John Hancock had written to Washington on the 18th of June, "that they have bent their whole attention to our affairs in Canada, and have adopted such measures as, in their opinion, are calculated to place them on a better and more reputable footing for the future." This resolution to put things in Canada upon a more reputable footing came too late; but the same energies were now bent to repair the fatal errors that had been committed there, in order that the army might be put in a condition to defend the northern frontier from the invasion which was then threatened by a powerful British army.

CHAPTER VIII.

General Gates Appointed to the Command of the Army—He arrives at Albany and learns of the Retreat—A question of Command between Schuyler and Gates—They set out together for Crown Point—Reconnoitering Parties are sent down the Lake—Capture of Captain Wilson and his Men—Brigadier-General Gordon is Killed by Lieutenant Whitcomb—A Council of War determines to abandon Crown Point and remove the Sick to Fort George—Remonstrance of Field Officers—Washington and his Generals disapprove of the action of the Council—General Sullivan takes offense at the Appointment of Gates, and Resigns his Commission—A General Hospital established at Fort George—Removal of the Sick—Their Neglect and Sufferings—Removal of the Army to Ticonderoga.

ON the same day that Sullivan with his retreating army reached St. Johns, Congress appointed Major-General Horatio Gates to the command of the forces in Canada. He owed his selection to the influence of the delegates from the New England Colonies, with whom he was very popular, and John Adams was among the first to notify him of his good fortune. "We have ordered you to the post of honor, and made you dictator in Canada for six months," he wrote to him. Gates left New York for the army on the 26th of June, accompanied by John Trumbull, his adjutant-general; Morgan Lewis (afterwards Governor of New York), his quartermaster-general, and Dr. Jonathan Potts. Upon their arrival at Albany, Gates first heard of the retreat from Canada, and a question at once arose between General Schuyler and himself as to which of them was entitled to the command. Schuyler contended that Gates was

to have the supreme command of the army only while it was in Canada, and as it had now retreated into the province of New York, he, as commander of the northern department, was Gates' superior officer. To this Gates would not accede. They agreed, however, that this difference between them should not in the least be allowed to embarrass the service, but should be referred to Congress for settlement. In the meantime they agreed to act in concert, and forthwith set out together on horseback for the army, accompanied by General Arnold (who had left Isle aux Noix for Albany on the 19th) and Colonel Trumbull. On the 8th of July, Congress settled the disputed question of command in favor of General Schuyler, to which decision General Gates gracefully submitted. They rode by Fort Edward and Fort Anne, and down Wood creek, over the road which the province of New York had built through this wilderness in 1709, to Skenesborough (now White Hall), which was at this time a thriving village of about three hundred and fifty inhabitants. From there they went by water to Ticonderoga. Upon reaching there they sent Colonel Trumbull over to Mount Independence, on the opposite side of the lake, to examine the ground with a view to its fortification, and Schuyler, Gates, and Arnold proceeded to Crown Point, where they joined the sad and suffering wreck of the army on the evening of Friday, the 5th of July. They at once began the work of reorganizing it, to protect the colonies from invasion by Sir Guy Carleton's army from the north.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley, with two hundred and fifty men of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, had been sent down the lake by General Sullivan as far as Isle la Motte to reconnoitre the enemy. He reported that

the British had pushed on their advance as far as Isle aux Noix, where their outpost was then stationed, but showed no signs of advancing further.

Later, a party of thirty men, under Captain James A. Wilson and Lieutenant John Grier, of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, were sent down the lake as a reconnoitering party. They were encouraged by the supineness of the enemy to proceed into the river Sorel, where they fell in with a party of the enemy's light infantry and a number of Indians under the command of Captain James H. Craig, of the Forty-seventh Regiment. After a brisk engagement, during which about six rounds were fired, the Americans, after a gallant resistance which commanded the admiration of the enemy, were obliged to surrender. One of the enemy's Indians was killed, and one of the light infantry mortally wounded. The Americans lost one man killed and another wounded, who afterwards died.

Lieutenant Benjamim Whitcomb, of Burrell's Connecticut Regiment, was also sent out with a scout of four men upon a hazardous expedition into the country occupied by the enemy, for the purpose of making one of their number prisoner, and obtaining from him information of their designs and movements. Whitcomb and his party left Crown Point on the 14th of July, and made their way slowly down the east shore of the lake to the head of Missisque bay, where they began to disperse. Whitcomb with one companion went across the country for about twenty miles to the Sorel river, opposite St. Johns. From here they moved slowly down the east bank of the Sorel river to the neighborhood of Chamblee, where they crossed to the road leading from St. Johns to La Prairie. At this point his companion left him, and Whitcomb, while concealed in the thicket

by the side of the road, at noon, on the 24th of July, shot in the right shoulder and mortally wounded Brigadier-General Gordon, who was riding by in the full scarlet uniform of a British officer. General Gordon had ridden from La Prairie, where his brigade was encamped, to St. Johns on a visit to General Fraser, whose headquarters were then at the latter place, and was on his return home when he was shot. He died of his wound on the 30th of July, and was buried at Montreal, with military honors, on the 3d of August. He was one of the four brigadiers whom Carleton had but recently appointed, the others being Nesbitt, Fraser, and Powel, and was much respected as a brave and meritorious officer. The manner of his death created great indignation in the British army, and was much regretted by the Americans.

Colonel Trumbull joined the army at Crown Point on the 6th of July, and recommended Mount Independence as a military position of great natural strength. A rocky bluff, thirty to fifty feet high, surrounded on three sides by the lake, with a deep morass and East creek behind it, and low country beyond. It was well calculated, if fortified, to protect the eastern colonies from invasion, and was easily accessible to their militia. Colonel Trumbull also recommended the erection of a work on the top of Sugar-loaf Hill, afterwards called Mount Defiance, to the south-west of Ticonderoga, which, from its great height—seven hundred and fifty feet above the lake—commanded both Mount Independence and Ticonderoga. Neglect of this recommendation led to the evacuation of Ticonderoga in the following year.

A council of war was held at Crown Point, on Sunday, the 7th, composed of Major-Generals Schuyler and

Gates, and Brigadier-Generals Sullivan, Arnold, and de Woedtke, by which it was resolved that Crown Point was not tenable, and that it was prudent for the army to retire immediately to Ticonderoga. It was also resolved to remove the sick immediately to Fort George.

The resolution to evacuate Crown Point occasioned much dissatisfaction among some of the field officers of the army. A remonstrance against it, addressed to General Schuyler, was drawn up on the 8th, and signed by Colonels Stark, Maxwell, Porter, Reed, Bond, Poor, Burrell, Groaton, and others. Colonel St. Clair and Colonel De Haas, "men," wrote General Gates to Washington, "whose long service and distinguished character deservedly give their opinion a preference," agreed with the general officers that it was expedient to evacuate the place. Washington, who was very uneasy and anxious about the northern frontier, and who was not familiar with the topography of the lakes or the condition of the fortifications, was inclined, at first, to coincide with the field officers against the action of the council. "When intelligence was first received here that Crown Point was abandoned," he wrote to General Schuyler, "it was the cause of general alarm, and filled the minds of most who heard it with no small degree of anxiety and chagrin." He also wrote to General Gates from New York on the 19th: "Nothing but a belief that you had actually removed the army from the Point to Ticonderoga, and demolished the works at the former, and the fear of creating dissensions and encouraging a spirit of remonstrating against the conduct of superior officers by inferiors, have prevented me, by the advice of the general officers here, from directing the post at Crown Point to be held till Congress should decide upon the propriety of its

evacuation. I must, however, express my sorrow at the resolution of your council, and wish that it had never happened, as everybody who speaks of it also does, and that the measure could yet be changed with propriety." "Upon the whole," he wrote to him at a later date, "no event of which I have been informed for a long time produced a more general chagrin and consternation." The wisdom of the evacuation, however, was conclusively established by the events which followed.

The quick sensibilities of General Sullivan were deeply wounded by the appointment of General Gates, who had been his junior in rank, to supersede him in the command. "I readily confess," he wrote to General Schuyler from Crown Point on the 6th, "that I ever was desirous of some officer of superior rank to relieve me from the disagreeable command, and should with pleasure have remained in the army and served under him; but Congress having thought proper to supersede me by appointing General Gates (who had not, by the rank they were pleased formerly to confer on us, the same pretensions as myself), I can construe this in no other light but by supposing Congress was apprehensive that I was not equal to the trust they were pleased to repose in me. If this be the case, I am bound in justice to my country to relinquish a command to which I am not equal. If this was not the foundation, and they had not such an opinion of me, surely my honor calls upon me to leave the service after a person is put over me without any impeachment of my conduct." He accordingly requested leave of absence, which was reluctantly granted, proceeded to Philadelphia, and resigned his commission.

Before his departure, he expressed to the army, through General Schuyler, his satisfaction at the man-

ner in which they had performed all their duties, under the most trying circumstances, and in return was presented by the officers with an address expressive of the high regard in which they held him.

Congress was unwilling to accept the resignation of General Sullivan, as the manner in which he had conducted the retreat out of Canada was highly creditable to him, and he was induced, after satisfactory explanations, to withdraw it and remain in the service.

The first step toward the improvement of the condition of the army was the removal of the sick. It was determined to establish a general hospital at Fort George, and Dr. Jonathan Potts was immediately directed to fit up the sheds on the lake shore at that place with cribs or berths for their reception, and to gather such hemlock-tops as could be collected along the lake for their bedding.

On the 10th of July the removal of the sick from Crown Point commenced. The pork provided for them on their journey was so rancid that it had to be thrown away. They had nothing to eat but a scant supply of flour, wet with lake water, and baked on flat stones. The gloomy flotilla encountered head winds all the way, and their journey of fifty miles consumed four days and nights. By the 12th, accommodations had been provided at Fort George for about three hundred and fifty, and lumber enough had been collected there to shelter the remainder until hospitals could be erected. One woman was drafted from each company of the Pennsylvania regiments and sent with them as nurses.

On the shores of this romantic lake, now one of the most popular pleasure resorts in America, these unfortunate soldiers of the Revolution (many of whose bones

still lie there in their unrecognized resting-places) remained for weeks and weeks, in the most distressed and neglected condition. They were without proper diet, without bedding, many of them being obliged to lie on bare boards, and without shelter sufficient to screen them from the weather. Among the scourges that prostrated them were dysentery, bilious putrid fevers, and confluent small-pox. They were without medicines in a country where none were to be procured, with less than a dozen physicians to attend from fifteen hundred to two thousand men, and without experienced female nurses. It is not surprising, therefore, that by the middle of August their number had decreased to one thousand by deaths and discharges. By the 20th of October, it was still further reduced to four hundred, which number included the wounded sent from the fleet. Richard Stockton and George Clymer, the committee of Congress who visited the locality, spoke of the sick in their report as follows:—"Your committee can not omit mentioning under this head, the complaints which they have received from persons of all ranks, in and out of the army, respecting the neglect and ill-treatment of the sick. It is shocking to the feelings of humanity, as well as ruinous to the public service, that so deadly an evil has been so long without a remedy."

After the sick had been removed from Crown Point, there remained about three thousand effective men, with which, as a nucleus, the difficult work of reorganization began. On the 8th of July, Generals Schuyler and Gates returned to Ticonderoga, and on the following day the First, Second, and three companies of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiments arrived there. They were without shoes or stockings, and almost in rags. "The whole of

them appeared in miserable plight from the fatigue and sickness they had undergone, but, compared with the eastern troops, they were robust and healthy," wrote Captain Persifor Frazer, who, with his company, and the companies of Captains Taylor, North, Moore, and Vernon, of Wayne's regiment, had left New York City on the 29th of June, and joined the three companies of the regiment which had served in Canada, at Ticonderoga, on the 12th of July. The Sixth Pennsylvania had been left at Crown Point, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley, as the advance-guard of the army, and to protect the oar-makers who had arrived there (where timber for the purpose was abundant) to make oars for the fleet. They constantly sent small parties down the lake from Crown Point to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy.

CHAPTER IX.

Ticonderoga—The Pennsylvania Troops occupy and repair the French lines—Baron de Woedtke—Composition of the Army that Retreated from Canada—Colonel Enoch Poor—Division of the Army into Brigades—Ship-carpenters are sent up from the Atlantic Seaboard—Other Mechanics begin to arrive—Mount Independence is cleared—Camp Life and Duties—Sickness on Mount Independence—Colonel John Greaen—Want of Mail facilities.

TICONDEROGA (a corruption of the Indian Cheonderoga—"congregation of many waters," or, as others have interpreted it, "place of rocks dividing the water," or "place where two rivers meet") had, from the earliest times, been the name of the peninsula, a mile long by two-thirds of a mile wide, which projects into Lake Champlain, and is washed on the north and east by its waters, and on the south by the outlet of Lake George. The name was confined at this time to the old fort, which stood seventy feet above the surface of the lake. It was constructed by the French in 1755, and called by them Carillon (chime), after the sound of the water-fall above it. It and Crown Point were dismantled by the French when they evacuated them in 1759, but were immediately rebuilt by the English at a cost of £2,000,000. They were both soon after suffered to fall into decay.

Ticonderoga was not a strong place in a military sense, though it seems to have been so regarded by the French, and the English after them. It commanded the water

communication with Lake George, but was in danger of being turned to the north-west from Three-mile Point to that lake, and was at the mercy of Mount Defiance on the south. It required, moreover, the large garrison of ten thousand men and at least one hundred cannon for its defence.

Lake Champlain at this point is confined by the two promontories of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence within the compass of half a mile.

Upon their arrival at Ticonderoga, the three Pennsylvania regiments encamped temporarily on the shore of the lake, below the old fort, until a road could be completed up to the old French lines, which they had been ordered to occupy and repair. The French lines were situated three-quarters of a mile back of the old fort, in a north-westerly direction. They had been hastily constructed by the French troops under Montcalm on the 7th of July, 1758, after their outposts had been driven in by Abercrombie, and consisted of heavy logs piled one upon another to the height of eight feet, with an abatis in their front. From behind them three thousand French troops repulsed, with frightful slaughter, fifteen thousand British on the day after they were constructed.

Scouting parties of twenty men each were sent out from the camp of the Pennsylvania troops by the lakeside every morning before daybreak, to scour the high ground back of the French lines from the bridge near the saw-mill, on the outlet of Lake George, across the peninsula to the shore of the lake opposite. On the 16th they moved their camp up the hill near the French lines, which they immediately began to repair, and a week later permanently took their positions close within

them, where they remained for four months until the First Regiment marched to the south, and the Second and Fourth went into winter quarters as the permanent garrison of the place.

By the middle of July the health of Baron de Woedtke had become so much impaired that he was obliged to go to the hospital at Fort George. He lingered there until the 28th, when he died, and was buried with honors due to his rank.

Frederick William, Baron de Woedtke, was a Prussian officer of rank and culture, who had entered the service of Frederick II. as early as 1750. He came to America in the fall of 1775 very highly recommended, with the intention of taking part in the revolutionary struggle, and making America the country of his adoption. He visited Washington at Cambridge and was appointed a brigadier-general by Congress on the 16th of March, 1776, with directions to proceed immediately to Canada. He accompanied the Commissioners of Congress to Montreal and joined the army on the Sorel early in May.

General Arnold had been left in command at Crown Point by Gates, to direct the embarkation of the troops and bring up the rear of the army, with which he arrived at Ticonderoga on the 17th, having left three hundred new-made graves at Crown Point behind them. All the other regiments composing the army encamped temporarily near the old fort, and on a point of land on the opposite side of the lake.

The army which retreated from Canada was composed of John P. De Haas', Arthur St. Clair's, Anthony Wayne's, and William Irvine's Pennsylvania; William Wind's and William Maxwell's New Jersey; John

Stark's, James Reed's, Enoch Poor's,* and Timothy Bedel's New Hampshire; John Greaton's, William Bond's, John Patterson's, and Elisha Porter's Massachusetts; and Charles Burrell's Connecticut regiments—fifteen regiments in all of regular continental troops. In addition to these regiments of infantry, there was an independent company commanded by Colonel Stanton, a few volunteers, and the four artillery companies of Captains Stevens, Eustis, Romans, and Wood.

They found Colonel Cornelius Wynkoop's New York regiment of Continental troops at Ticonderoga, forming the garrison of that place.

Colonel Goose Van Schaick's and Colonel Cornelius Van Dyke's New York regiments of Continental troops were stationed at Fort George, which post was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Gansvoort, of Van Schaick's regiment, who heroically defended Fort Stanwix when it was besieged by St. Leger in the following year.

The army was divided into four brigades. The First, commanded by General Arnold, consisted of Bond's, Greaton's, Burrell's, and Porter's regiments. The Second, commanded by Colonel Reed, consisted of Reed's, Poor's, Patterson's, and Bedel's regiments. The Third, commanded by Colonel Stark, consisted of Stark's, Maxwell's, Wind's, and Wynkoop's regiments. The Fourth,

* ENOCH POOR was born at Andover, Massachusetts, in 1736. He removed to Exeter, New Hampshire, and was appointed colonel of a regiment of New Hampshire troops after the battle of Lexington. He served under Washington at the siege of Boston. His regiment was afterwards ordered to New York, and from there to Canada in the brigade of General Thompson. He was appointed brigadier-general by Congress February 21st, 1777. His brigade, composed of New York and New Hampshire troops, began the attack on the enemy's left at the battle of Saratoga, October 7th, 1777. He was afterwards with Washington at Valley Forge, and distinguished himself at the battle of Monmouth. He was killed in a duel with a French officer September 8th, 1780, near Hackensack, New Jersey, and is buried at that place.

commanded by Colonel St. Clair, consisted of St. Clair's, De Haas', Wayne's, and Irvine's regiments. The first three were ordered to encamp on Mount Independence, the fourth, or Pennsylvania brigade, in the old French lines—the post most exposed to the enemy, the key to the whole position, and upon the maintenance of which the safety of the whole army depended.

They were in the midst of a wide-extending wilderness, which abounded in bears, wolves, and rattlesnakes. It produced nothing but lumber, for the manufacture of which there were no less than three saw-mills in the immediate vicinity: one built by the French near the falls, on the outlet from Lake George, where the village of Ticonderoga now stands, another at Crown Point, which was repaired by Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley, and another at Cheshires, on Wood creek, near Skenesborough, which had been built by General Schuyler in anticipation of the retreat, and run day and night to furnish boards for the fleet, and to provide shelter for the troops.

It was not long, however, before this wild and solitary place became the scene of great life and activity. The neighboring hills soon began to resound with the echoes of fife and drum, the roar of the morning and evening gun, and the blows of hundreds of axes.

On the last day of May, General Schuyler had sent thirty carpenters from Fort George to Skenesborough, by the way of Ticonderoga, as a pioneer force, to build gondolas, but they found neither tools nor materials there to build them with. After the retreat of the army, ship-carpenters were procured at prodigious wages along the Atlantic seaboard, and forwarded to Skenesborough as speedily as possible, to construct a fleet to control the waters of Lake Champlain. A company of fifty was sent



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from Philadelphia. They had not time to put their tools on board the vessel at New York which was to carry them to Albany, before the British ships *Phoenix* and *Rose* ran up above the city and cut off all water communication with the towns on the Hudson. They were obliged, therefore, to pursue the more tedious and expensive journey by land. At the request of Congress, Governor Nicholas Cooke, of Rhode Island, sent another company of fifty ship-carpenters from that State. Another company of fifty was sent from Massachusetts, and, at the request of General Schuyler, Governor Trumbull sent up still another company of fifty from Connecticut. Two tons of oakum were also sent up, at General Schuyler's request.

A forest was to be cleared preparatory to the fortification of the ground, but they were without the means to do it with until General Schuyler sent them twelve hundred felling-axes, and Governor Trumbull, a patriot who did much to relieve all their wants, sent them eight hundred more, with handles, by the way of Bennington, on the 29th of July. It was not long, however, before there was not a grind-stone fit to grind them on, and the axes were thereby rendered almost useless. House-carpenters and armorers also soon began to arrive, but their work was much delayed by the want of tools and nails, which last were obtained with very great difficulty.

By the 21st of July a sufficient number of felling-axes had been received to enable the First, Second, and Third Brigades to begin the work of clearing Mount Independence of the primeval forest with which it was covered, and in ten days the ground was sufficiently cleared to enable them to lay out their camp. They constructed log huts to cover themselves with, and proceeded to

throw up earthworks, a twenty-gun battery on the lower side, and above it a semi-circular redoubt.

The sufferings of the army at Ticonderoga were, however, slow to decrease. The routine of military duty was very severe, inspirited only by the martial sound of fife and drum, and a few brass and reed instruments which General Thompson's brigade had brought with them from Boston. Music of the latter kind was so scarce in the colonies, however, that the brass and reed instruments were safely packed up by order of the President of Congress, and sent to Philadelphia. The patriotism which had led the troops into the service continued to sustain them through all its hardships and privations, and they continued to struggle on in the rough path of duty. Alarm posts were established immediately after their arrival, and the different companies were out at them every morning before daybreak. During the day every man who could be spared from his post was hard at work on the intrenchments. Even the elements seemed to conspire against them. Scarcely a day passed without the rain descending in torrents. The evening after the Pennsylvania regiments removed their camp up the hill, it rained so hard that officers and men lay all night in nearly two inches of water.

This not only seriously retarded the work on the intrenchments, but the effects of the climate and exposure upon the already enfeebled constitutions of the men, reduced many of them with chills and fever and dysentery, and there were no medicines on hand to relieve them. The surgeon's mate of the First Pennsylvania Regiment was obliged to send a hundred men of the regiment to Fort George, because no medicines could be obtained at Ticonderoga for them. It was necessary,

almost daily, to issue half a gill of rum to every non-commissioned officer and soldier to protect them against the wet weather.

The new earth turned up on Mount Independence in the broiling sun, with the malaria arising from the stagnant lake and the neighboring swamps, soon produced fevers there of a very fatal character. Heaps of brush were burned on the new ground every night and morning to purify the air, but without success in removing the cause of disease, which lingered until the frosts came in the fall. "It would make a heart of stone melt to hear the moans and see the distresses of the sick and dying," wrote Dr. Wigglesworth to the New Hampshire Committee. The only real relief they experienced was from the discovery of springs of excellent water at the base of the rocks.

Colonel Bond died there on the 31st of August, and was buried with military honors in front of his regiment; Colonel Burrell was sent home in a very precarious state of health; Colonel Greaton* was sent to Fort George dangerously ill, but recovered, and General Reed was also sent to the hospital so ill that he did not regain his health during the campaign, and ultimately lost his sight.

The chills and fever was a malady common to the shores of Lake Champlain from Skenesborough to St. Johns. It attacked the settlers as well as the troops. The British suffered even more severely than the Americans, as the regions about St. Johns and Isle aux Noix,

*JOHN GREATON was born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, March 10th, 1741, in which place he kept an inn. He was an officer of the local militia, and became colonel of a Massachusetts regiment July 12th, 1775. His regiment was subsequently incorporated into the Continental Army and was present at the siege of Boston. He was ordered to New York after the British evacuation of Boston, and from there to Canada with General Thompson. He was appointed brigadier-general by Congress January 7th, 1783, and died at Roxbury in February, 1784.

where they were encamped, were more unhealthy than those portions of the lake occupied by the American troops. As many as nineteen of the enemy were buried in one day.

Early in August an abundance of fresh beef was furnished to the men, twenty head of cattle being sent them every week, and plenty of fresh bread; and thereafter order began to make its appearance, and the spirits of the men materially to improve. Rum, wine, chocolate, loaf-sugar, fresh vegetables, venison, cheese, and butter were articles of luxury within the reach of those who were able to purchase them. They could be obtained from the sutlers who flocked to the camp, but only at such exorbitant prices that it was found necessary to regulate their sale by general order. A market was established for that purpose at the foot of the glacis of the old fort, which was ordered to be held there every day from eight o'clock in the morning until sunset.

Not the least of the privations which the Southern troops at Ticonderoga suffered was the want of any news from home. The Massachusetts Assembly had provided a weekly post-rider, who carried letters from Watertown to the soldiers at Ticonderoga free of charge, and Governor Trumbull had also provided one from Lebanon, Connecticut, to Ticonderoga, to carry the mail "as frequently as that stage could be performed;" but the Southern troops were without any mail facilities whatever. A very decided remonstrance was addressed to Congress upon the subject, signed by General Gates and the field officers of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Regiments, in which they complained that their public and private letters were opened and detained, and praying that a regular post might be established between

Philadelphia and Ticonderoga. Congress, a day or two before this memorial was received, had established a regular system for carrying the mails throughout the colonies. A post-rider was to be employed for every twenty-five or thirty miles on all public post-roads, who was to ride his stage three times a week—setting out immediately upon the receipt of the mail bag, and riding with it night and day until he delivered it to the next rider. The memorial of the field officers at Ticonderoga was referred by Congress to the Committee for Regulating the Post Office, and tardy relief was extended to them under the general postal system.

CHAPTER X.

News of the Declaration of Independence—A Copy is sent to Burgoyne with a Demand for the Perpetrators of the Barbarities after the Cedars—Carleton returns an Offensive Answer—Sectional Animosities between the Troops—Ordnance and Ordnance Stores—Their removal from Ticonderoga by Colonel Knox—Court-Martial of Colonel Moses Hazen—Disrespectful Conduct of General Arnold—His Arrest Requested, but Refused.

TOWARD the close of July, the army at Ticonderoga received news of the declaration of independence, and on the 28th it was read at Ticonderoga by Colonel Arthur St. Clair. It was received by the troops with great enthusiasm. A copy of it had been sent, by order of Congress, for General Burgoyne (who, by some strange error, was supposed to be in command of the British forces), together with the resolutions of Congress remonstrating with the British for the barbarous treatment of the Colonial prisoners of war after the Cedars, and demanding that those who had been guilty of those barbarities should be delivered up for punishment. By these resolutions Congress agreed to ratify the sponsion entered into by Arnold with Forster, and to return an equal number of British prisoners, in rank and condition, but only upon condition that the British commander in Canada would first deliver into their hands the authors, abettors, and perpetrators of those brutal massacres, that they might suffer the punishment which their crimes deserved.

These dispatches from Congress to Burgoyne were intrusted for transmission to Major John Bigelow with a boat's crew of the corps of artillery. They arrived with them at the British lines under a flag of truce on the same day that St. Clair was reading the Declaration to the troops at Ticonderoga. Bigelow was received with civility by Captain Craig of the Forty-seventh Regiment (Carleton's own regiment), who informed him that Burgoyne was not the commanding officer in Canada, and he did not know whether he could receive a flag of truce or not, but would forward the dispatches to Burgoyne, whose headquarters were at Chamblee, and would be obliged to detain him until he received an answer. Bigelow was confined in Captain Craig's tent on the *Isle aux Noix* for ten days, waiting for an answer to the dispatches, which had been sent, he was informed, to Quebec, whither General Carleton had gone on the 20th in a canoe. At the expiration of the ten days, Bigelow was furnished with Carleton's answer, and was escorted at sunset beyond the British lines.

Sir Guy Carleton returned by way of answer a public address, in the shape of a general order, severely criticising the course of the colonies in declaring their independence, and attributing all their troubles with the mother country, in the most opprobrious language, to the misguidance of their public men. This order was sealed up in an envelope without note or comment, and addressed to "George Washington, Esquire," but, being intended for general circulation among the American troops, an open copy of it was given to Major Bigelow and each of the boat's crew. It contained also the following intemperate paragraph:—"His Excellency General Carleton orders the commanding officers of corps

will take special care that every one under their command be informed that letters or messages from rebels, traitors in arms against their king, rioters, disturbers of the public peace, plunderers, robbers, assassins, or murderers are on no occasion to be admitted. That should emissaries from such lawless men again presume to approach the army, whether under the name of flag-of-truce men, or ambassadors, except when they come to implore the king's mercy, their persons shall be immediately seized, and committed to close confinement, in order to be proceeded against as the law directs, their papers and letters, for whomsoever, even for the commander-in-chief, are to be delivered to the provost-marshal, that, unread and unopened, they may be burned by the hands of the common hangman." Well might General Schuyler write to General Washington:—"General Carleton has put it out of our power to have any intercourse with him on the subject-matter contained in the resolves, or, indeed, on any other." Washington disposed of the order with dignity and brevity. "I shall not trouble Congress," he wrote to John Hancock, "with my strictures upon this indecent, illiberal, and scurrilous performance so highly unbecoming the character of a soldier and a gentleman."

Though in the form of a general order to his own troops, this document seems to have been intended only as a menace to the Americans, for shortly afterwards Carleton issued another order to his troops, in which he admonished them not to return evil for evil. "The Englishman, always brave," he wrote, "will not forget that he is accustomed to act magnanimously and philanthropically. It behooves the troops of the king to spare the blood of his subjects: it behooves the king himself;

and it is the duty of all his faithful subjects to obtain for the inhabitants of this country that noble liberty with which they were once blessed."

Of the sixteen regiments which then composed the army, the four from Pennsylvania comprised more than half the whole effective force. Out of thirty-one hundred men at Ticonderoga fit for duty, they contributed sixteen hundred. This was due to the superior material of which these regiments were composed. The Pennsylvanians were in all respects better soldiers and better men, as the trying ordeal through which they had all passed abundantly proved, and as the general officers (many of whom were from the Eastern States) also frequently bore witness. They were described by Colonel Trumbull as "the *élite* of the army." The Eastern regiments included within their ranks negroes and Indians, as well as men who were both too young and too old for military duty.

The Pennsylvanians, at their own request, had been united in one brigade. "It will tend to the furtherance of the service much if the Pennsylvanians should be brigaded together," wrote one of the field officers to Gates, "and I am certain, from what I have observed, that we shall be happier, and act better, if the Eastern and Southern troops are in distant brigades." All troops south of the Delaware were then known as Southern troops. They were divided by the lake, and there was little or no intercourse between them. Indeed, the Pennsylvanians did not attempt to disguise their contempt for their Eastern comrades. At no time in the course of the war was this feeling of sectional animosity stronger than it then was at Ticonderoga. Charles Cushing, of Massachusetts, refers to it when, in writing of the battle of

Three Rivers to his brother, from Crown Point, he says:—"It gives me pleasure to acquaint you that none of the 'damn'd Yankees' were there, as the Southern troops are pleased to term us."

"There is another evil of a very serious complexion, which has manifested itself in our camp," wrote Dr. Thacher, who was the surgeon of Whitcomb's Massachusetts regiment. "Since the troops from the Southern States have been incorporated and associated in military duty with those from New England, a strong prejudice has assumed its unhappy influence and drawn a line of distinction between them. Many of the officers from the South are gentlemen of education, and unaccustomed to that equality which prevails in New England."

A New England brigadier-general, writing of the sectional animosity between the troops, says:—"It has already risen to such a height that the Pennsylvania and New England troops would as soon fight each other as the enemy. Officers of all ranks are indiscriminately treated in the most contemptible manner, and whole colonies traduced and vilified as cheats, knaves, cowards, poltroons, hypocrites, and every term of reproach, for no other reason but because they are situated east of New York."

This sectional feeling broke out into a scene of violence during the following winter at Ticonderoga, between Wayne's Pennsylvania regiment and Whitcomb's Massachusetts. Whitcomb had permitted one of his sons, who was a soldier in his regiment, to set up a shoemaker's bench in his father's quarters, and he detailed another son to act as his servant. This act of degradation so incensed the Pennsylvanians that an assault was made upon the colonel's quarters on Christmas day. The shoe-

maker's bench was thrown out, and Colonel Whitcomb assaulted. This was followed by further scenes of violence, during which thirty or forty rounds were fired by Wayne's regiment at Whitcomb's men, driving them from their tents and barracks and wounding several of them. The good-natured Colonel Whitcomb entirely overlooked the affair, and none of the parties were punished.

This sectional animosity occasioned Washington no little anxiety when his attention was called to it by General Schuyler. "I must entreat your exertions to do away the unhappy, pernicious distinctions and jealousies between the troops of different governments," he wrote from New York on the 17th of July. "Enjoin this upon the officers, and let them inculcate and press home to the soldiers the necessity of order and harmony among those who are embarked in one common cause, and mutually contending for all that freemen hold dear. I am persuaded if the officers will but exert themselves, that these animosities and disorders will in a great measure subside."

Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the other fortifications along this line of communication, were well supplied by the British with ordnance and ordnance stores. Though the garrison at Ticonderoga consisted of only thirty effective men at the time it was taken by Ethan Allen in May, 1775, and that of Crown Point of only a sergeant and twelve men, large quantities of ordnance and ordnance stores fell into Allen's hands. These soon attracted the attention of Washington, who stood greatly in need of them to carry on the siege of Boston. He accordingly sent Colonel Henry Knox in November, 1775, to Ticonderoga, to procure a supply for him. This officer succeeded with much difficulty in getting them

over the lake to Fort George. To provide for their further transportation he had forty-two exceedingly strong sleds constructed, and procured eighty yoke of oxen to drag them. This long ordnance train wound its slow way down the Hudson. The snow was three feet deep when it started, but it was soon delayed by a thaw which weakened the ice and spoiled the sledding. By the 7th of January, however, the frost returned, and the first division crossed the river on the ice at Albany, assisted by the citizens of that city, and proceeded on its way over the hills to the Connecticut river. "It appeared to me almost a miracle," Colonel Knox noted in his diary, "that people with heavy loads should be able to get up and down such hills as are here," from the tops of which "we might almost have seen all the kingdoms of the earth."

From the Connecticut river they moved on to Boston, where the guns were placed in position on Dorchester Heights, and compelled the evacuation of Boston by the British.

This "stripping Ticonderoga so entirely of its heavy cannon," wrote Charles Lee to Washington, on the 29th of February, when he expected to take command of that department, "is a most unfortunate circumstance, and the transportation of them from this place is a business of monstrous difficulties, expense, and labor." Yet, notwithstanding this heavy drain, the army which now occupied Ticonderoga had one hundred and twenty cannon for its defense besides those which had been taken from the fortress to arm the fleet. They included 1 thirty-two, 1 twenty-four, 9 eighteen, 20 twelve, 41 nine, 26 six, 21 four, and 1 three pounders. They had only forty-three garrison carriages on which to mount these guns, and

many of these were unavailable because the guns would not fit. The only field-carriages they had were the seven which had been saved in the retreat. To remedy this serious difficulty, wheelwrights began to arrive from the South by the 1st of August, but, like the other artificers which had preceded them, their work was greatly retarded by the want of tools and materials. In addition to the embarrassments, occasioned by the want of gun-carriages, the ordnance was rendered almost useless by the want of sponges, rammers, worms, and other *attirail*. There were but very few of these in the garrison, and the army had lost the limited supply with which it was provided in Canada. The ordnance stores contained forty-eight hundred and twenty-two round and three hundred and twenty-four case shot, by actual count, and about two thousand cartridges, three-fourths of which were unfilled. There were but few musket-balls and buckshot, very little lead and cartridge paper, and gunners were very scarce. To complete their armament, Gates called upon Congress for 6 six and 6 twelve pounders, 4 eight-inch howitzers, and 6 Coehorn mortars, all of brass, none of which Congress was able to supply, but all which they ordered to be cast as soon as possible. He also called for fifteen tons of powder, ten tons of lead, and a supply of flints and cartridge paper. Congress at once ordered fifteen tons of powder, twenty thousand flints, ten tons of lead, and one thousand reams of cartridge paper to be sent to him; but their orders were given with far greater liberality than their resources justified, though two powder mills near Philadelphia were then delivering twenty-five hundred pounds per week, and there were four others in the province of Pennsylvania in active operation.

It was the 6th of September before the army received the cartridge paper, and the last day of October before even six tons of powder and a quantity of lead reached Ticonderoga.

In July, a general court-martial, of which Colonel Poor was president, was convened for the purpose of trying Colonel Moses Hazen upon charges preferred by General Arnold, growing out of injury to the goods which Arnold had seized from the merchants of Montreal. Arnold charged that the injury resulted from Colonel Hazen's disobedience of his orders. Colonel Hazen was honorably acquitted of all responsibility by the court. At this finding Arnold was very indignant. He had offered Major Scott, under whose charge the goods had been transported from Montreal to Chamblee, as a witness. The court being satisfied that Major Scott was interested, rejected his testimony, whereupon Arnold, in a very contemptuous, disorderly, and menacing manner, filed a protest with the court, which he accompanied with abusive and profane language. The court refused to allow the protest to go upon its records, and, through Colonel Poor, the president, wrote to Arnold, remonstrating against his conduct, and concluding with the following words:—"Nothing but an open acknowledgment of your error will be received as satisfactory." This acknowledgment Arnold positively declined to make. After stating that his protest was not designed as they had construed it, he wrote in reply as follows:—"You may depend, as soon as this disagreeable service is at an end (which God grant may soon be the case), I will by no means withhold from any gentleman of the court the satisfaction his nice honor may require. Your demand I shall not comply with." The court thereupon re-

requested Colonel Trumbull, the Deputy Adjutant-General, to put General Arnold in arrest. The only answer received to this request was the following order:—"The general court-martial of which Colonel Poor was president is dissolved." General Arnold appealed from the decision of the court-martial to Congress, and the court also submitted their statement to that body.

There can be but one explanation of the disrespectful manner in which the request of the court was treated by General Gates, and that is to be found in the following paragraph from the letter which he had addressed to Congress when he transmitted the papers to them:—"I was obliged to act dictatorially, and dissolve the court-martial the instant they demanded General Arnold to be put under arrest. The United States must not be deprived of that excellent officer's services at this important moment."

The laurels won by Arnold at Quebec were still green, and his services as commander of the fleet, which was then ready to sail, were indispensable. The exigency of the service required that many things should pass unnoticed for the general good of the cause, otherwise Arnold's conduct then, as ever, strongly tinctured with arrogance, would not have gone without the rebuke it deserved.

CHAPTER XI.

Terror Created by the News of the Retreat—Measures for raising Reinforcements—Reports of Small-pox interfere with Enlistments—Additional Bounties Offered—The Militia Rendezvous at Number Four—New Road from Mount Independence to Rutland—Sufferings of the Militia in the Wilderness—Reinforcements Retarded by Inoculation—The Sick required to Disclose, under oath, how they took the Disease—Alarm at the Re-introduction of Small-pox by the Militia—Disappearance of Small-pox from the Army—Arrival of Reinforcements at Ticonderoga—Formation of a New Brigade—General James Brickett—Washington orders three of the fullest Regiments to be sent from Boston—Their arrival at Ticonderoga—A Company of Mohican Indians—Construction of the Jersey Redoubt—Completion of the Intrenchments about the French Lines—Delays in the Works on Mount Independence—Colonels Reed and St. Clair appointed Brigadier-Generals—General James Reed—Conflicting Claims of Majors Wood and Morris to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment—A Rest from Unremitting Labors—Court-Martial of Deserters and other Offenders—Cleanly appearance of the Pennsylvania Troops.

THE news that the army was retreating from Canada filled the pioneers upon the outlying settlements of northern New York and New Hampshire grants with great consternation. They pictured to their minds the horrors that would follow when their homes were exposed to bands of hostile savages, and delayed not to learn the worst, but hastily abandoned their settlements for places of greater security—carrying terror with them into the more thickly settled country to the south.

Measures were at once taken by the authorities of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut for raising reinforcements. Recruiting was actively begun throughout these provinces, but coupled with the news

of the retreat of the army, and the threatening dangers of invasion which accompanied it, came, as a damper upon the patriotic zeal which prompted the colonists to take up arms for the defense of their borders, horrible stories of the loathsome pestilence which the army was bringing with it. It more than doubled, to their minds, the dangers with which they were threatened. The dread of small-pox was greater than the dread of the enemy. In New Hampshire as high as fifty dollars was offered for substitutes. In Massachusetts the bounty offered to recruits for the army in Canada was £7, whilst that offered to recruits for Washington's army at New York was only £3. In addition to that, the regiments destined for Canada were offered one penny a mile as mileage, and one day's additional pay for every twenty miles traveled by them, in order to expedite their march. In Connecticut it was found necessary to offer an additional bounty of £3 over that given to troops intended for service in Boston and New York, to induce men to enlist in the Northern army. "The small-pox," wrote Governor Trumbull to Congress, "is a more terrible enemy than the British troops, and strikes a greater dread into our men who have never had it." Terrible though the ravages of this disease in the army had been, yet the reports of it acquired additional shades of horror as they were transmitted from place to place, and so seriously did these exaggerated reports interfere with enlistments, that the Connecticut Council of Safety found it necessary to send Dr. John Ely—a physician skilled in the treatment of small-pox—to Ticonderoga, to inquire into and report the true sanitary condition of the army. His report of the rigid measures which had been adopted to rid the army of this pestilence had the effect of

re-assuring the public mind to some extent, and in a measure allayed the fears of those who were disposed to enlist.

But a few weeks elapsed after the news of the retreat reached the eastern provinces before their militia were marching to reinforce the army. The first company arrived at Skenesborough from the adjacent country on the 24th of July. The Connecticut militia marched in the latter part of July by the way of Bennington to Skenesborough, over the road which Major Skene had built to the lower settlements for use during the winter months when the navigation of the lake was closed. Those from New Hampshire soon lined the roads which led to the towns on the Connecticut river. Those from Massachusetts marched to Springfield, and up the valley of the Connecticut river. By the early part of August, the militia from these provinces began to rendezvous at Number Four (Charlestown) and the neighboring towns in large numbers. From this point their common route lay over the Green Mountains to Skenesborough; but their further progress was delayed by the wretched condition of the roads, which the heavy rains had rendered almost impassable. The low country about Skenesborough was also so overflowed that communication was difficult. General Gates was obliged to send out a force of four hundred men from Ticonderoga to repair the roads before the reinforcements could proceed. From Skenesborough these troops were carried to Ticonderoga, the distance of thirty miles, in flat-boats. Later in the season the communication between Ticonderoga and the Eastern States was greatly facilitated by the construction of a new road from the foot of Mount Independence for about thirty-five miles over the broken and ridgy country,

through the woods to Rutland, at which point a new bridge was built over Otter creek.

The militia came in such numbers, and with such precipitation, that proper provision had not been made for them in the wilderness through which they were obliged to pass. Transportation was difficult to procure and very expensive. The roads, which were of the most primitive kind and of the worst possible description, were heavy, and the progress they made over them was necessarily slow. The Massachusetts troops brought an abundant supply of good tents and camp utensils with them. Those from the other colonies came without either. The conclusion of a day's march, therefore, often found them beyond the reach of either food or shelter; or, if they had food, without the means to prepare it with. The sufferings of this latter number, therefore, were great. They often arose from their restless bivouac, weary, wet, and hungry, to resume their spiritless march on the following day.

The progress of the reinforcements was further retarded by inoculation. New difficulties and embarrassments were thus ever arising on every hand to increase the burdens of those dauntless men to whom we are indebted for our liberties. The situation of affairs on the northern frontier was deemed too perilous to admit of the delays necessary for inoculation. It was therefore prohibited, and the troops were hurried forward without it. Many of the fainter-hearted among them, however, both officers and men, were overcome by their dread of small-pox as they approached the army, and underwent inoculation on the way, in disobedience of orders, at Number Four, Williamstown, Keene, and Claremont. Numbers also applied to the local physicians for it, but were

refused. In strong contrast with this conduct was the courage of the greater number, who refused to receive it themselves and condemned it in others.

It was from small-pox more than any other thing that the Northern army had suffered. The strictest measures had been taken to eliminate it, as the success or failure of the cause depended upon its removal. But notwithstanding all the precautionary measures that had been taken the disease was not effectually destroyed. New cases kept constantly breaking out. "Everything about this army is infected with the pestilence," wrote General Gates, "the clothes, the blankets, the air, and the ground we walk upon." To guard against its further spread the following general order had been made:—"The commanding officers of regiments and corps are to be answerable that every officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier, who shall hereafter be infected with the small-pox, be immediately sent to the general hospital at Lake George; but previous to their being sent they are to make oath as follows:—"I do solemnly swear, by the ever-living God, that I have not received the infection of the small-pox by inoculation, or by any application internal or external, but have taken the same in a manner entirely unknown to me, and, as I firmly believe, by the oath I now take, in the natural way, and no other. So help me God." In case any man refuses to take the above oath, his conscience accusing him that it would be perjury so to do, he is to declare the name of the person who inoculated him, and the place where it was done, that the perpetrators of so villainous an act may be instantly brought to condign punishment."

The prospect of its reintroduction, by the reinforcements of militia, now that the army was nearly free from

it, was met on all hands with alarm and indignation. "Inoculation for the small-pox I find has been practiced by the troops on their way to join the army," wrote Governor Trumbull. "I hope a practice so pernicious in every respect will be discouraged. If it is not timely restrained, it appears to me it must prove fatal to all our operations, and may ruin the country."

General Gates complained bitterly of it, declaring that it would sacrifice the army; demanding that the physicians who practiced it be punished; and threatening the officers who had suffered it with court-martial upon their arrival at Skenesborough.

General Schuyler, who learned it upon his return from the conference with the Six Nations at German Flats, wrote at once to General Waterbury, who was in command at Skenesborough, "You will please to dispatch three or four trusty officers to the different roads which the militia take in their way to Skenesborough, with positive orders to remove all officers and soldiers infected with the small-pox to a distance from the roads; no excuse is to be taken; no plea of danger to the infected is to be attended to. The life of individuals is not to be put into competition with that of the States."

Among those who were turned back in pursuance of these orders were Colonel Ruggles Woodbridge, of the Massachusetts militia, and Major William Stacey.

Fortunately, the reports were somewhat exaggerated. What real danger there was was removed by the precautions taken, and with the approach of September all trace of this loathsome disease had disappeared. Unfortunately, all other diseases did not disappear with it. There were still prevalent in the camp at that time, according to the report of a board of surgeons, "bilious,

remitting, and intermitting fevers, with some of the putrid kind, dysenteries, diarrheas, with rheumatic complaints." The medical chests were still destitute of a number of very necessary medicines, "and the sick were without the necessary comforts of barley, coffee, chocolate, ginger, oatmeal, rice, sugar, mutton, baume, sage, &c."

On the 5th of August a regiment of Massachusetts militia, under Colonel Edward Wigglesworth, five hundred strong and in a good state of discipline, arrived at Ticonderoga and went into camp near the old fort. They were followed a day or two later by two regiments of New Hampshire militia under Colonel Isaac Wyman, six hundred and six strong, and Colonel Joshua Wingate, six hundred and twenty-nine strong, and another regiment of Massachusetts militia under Colonel Jonathan Read, one hundred and fifty-two strong.

By the third week in August the army at Ticonderoga was further reinforced by two regiments of Massachusetts militia, under Colonel Moses Wheelock, with five hundred and thirty-three men, and Colonel Ruggles Woodbridge, with five hundred and seventy-nine men; and two regiments of Connecticut militia, under Colonel Heman Swift, four hundred and forty-five men, and Colonel Samuel Mott, two hundred and eighty-two men. The army was further strengthened by a company of artillery, one hundred and five strong, commanded by Captain S. Badlam.

The New Hampshire regiments of Wingate and Wyman were assigned to the third brigade on Mount Independence, under Colonel John Stark. The Connecticut regiments of Swift and Mott were assigned to the first brigade on Mount Independence, commanded by Colonel

Maxwell during the illness of Colonel Groaton, and the Massachusetts regiments of Read, Wigglesworth, Wheelock, and Woodbridge, who had been enlisted until the 1st of December, were formed into a new brigade, called the fifth, under the command of Brigadier-General James Brickett,* of Massachusetts, who had his headquarters in the old fort, and had command of the defense of the covert way and the works depending thereon. The brigade was encamped on the high ground to the westward of old Fort Ticonderoga, and later began to repair the five old redoubts which the French had thrown up in the low land on the lake shore, to the north-east.

On the 9th of July, Washington, by authority of Congress, ordered General Artemas Ward, at Boston, to detach three of the fullest Continental regiments stationed in Massachusetts forthwith to march to Ticonderoga. "It being evident, from a variety of concurring circumstances," he wrote to General Ward, "that the British armies mean to direct their most vigorous operations this campaign against the State of New York, to penetrate into it by way of the lakes and the North river, and to unite their attacks. The importance of it has induced Congress to take further measures for baffling their designs and rendering it more secure. You will see by the resolves now transmitted, that the Northern army is to be

*JAMES BRICKETT was born in 1737, and practiced medicine at Haverhill, Massachusetts. He was a surgeon in the British army at Ticonderoga, in 1759, and was lieutenant-colonel at the battle of Bunker Hill, where he was wounded. On the 11th of July, 1776, he was appointed by the Massachusetts Council, brigadier-general of the forces of that State which were sent to reinforce the army at Ticonderoga. In the following year he marched in the ranks of the militia to reinforce the army under Gates, at Saratoga, but did not reach there until after the surrender of Burgoyne. Gates appointed him a brigadier-general of militia, and he commanded the troops which escorted Burgoyne and his suite to Albany, and subsequently formed the guard of the British army in their march to Cambridge. He died at Haverhill, December 10th, 1818.

augmented by part of the troops under your command; and I do desire that you will immediately detach for that purpose three of the fullest regiments forthwith to march to Ticonderoga, or such other place as the army may be at, and put themselves under the order and directions of the general officer commanding the same." The resolves above referred to also authorized Washington to call out an equal number of the militia of that State.

The following Massachusetts regiments of Continental troops were accordingly detached by General Ward:—Colonel Asa Whitcomb's, four hundred and forty-nine men; Colonel Samuel Brewer's, six hundred and thirty-one men; Colonel Aaron Willard's, three hundred and eighty-seven men, and Colonel Edmund Phinney's, two hundred and eighteen men. They reached Ticonderoga early in September. Brewer's and Willard's regiments encamped near the saw-mill which had been built by the French, on the outlet of Lake George, as part of the fifth brigade, and built a redoubt there for the protection of the pass; Whitcomb's was assigned to the fourth brigade, under St. Clair, and was ordered to encamp in the vacant space reserved for the Sixth Pennsylvania, which was still at Crown Point. Phinney's was sent to Fort George, but returned to Ticonderoga after the defeat of the fleet, and was assigned to the second brigade.

An independent company of Mohican Indians from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, under command of Captain Ezra Whittlesey, was encamped near Brewer's regiment, distinguished from the enemy's Indians by a blue and red cap. They were intended for use as scouts, but were so undisciplined and disorderly that the sentries on the bridge below the saw-mill and on the side of the

French lines had strict orders not to let them pass without written permission. They were discharged and sent to their homes in the latter part of October.

On the 5th of August, the First New Jersey Regiment was transferred from Stark's brigade to the Pennsylvania brigade, and proceeded, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Matthias Ogden, to construct a redoubt, known as the Jersey redoubt, in the low lands on the point of the peninsula to the east of old Fort Ticonderoga, where the French had a strong redoubt in 1758. Colonel Wind had gone home and did not return until September. This redoubt, when completed, mounted 1 thirty-two, 2 eighteen, 3 twelve, and 2 nine pounders.

Work upon the fortifications about the old French lines progressed very satisfactorily, notwithstanding the unfavorable weather and the scarcity of tools. The August days were hot, the nights cold, and the wet weather continued; but the captains, who had been without the comforts of a bed and sheets since the 24th of March, got their tents floored, berths erected in them, and were supplied with good blankets, which made them comfortable for the first time in five months. By the last week in August their lines were nearly completed. They consisted of a rampart six to eight feet thick, constructed of earth supported by fascines and neatly sodded. Outside of the rampart was a ditch, ten feet wide by five feet deep. On the other side of the ditch was a stockade of sharpened stakes driven obliquely outward.

Captain Roman's company of Pennsylvania artillery was encamped within the French lines, where they were reinforced in September by the New England companies commanded by Captain Ebenezer Stevens, who was placed in command of all the artillery on the west side

of the lake. These artillery companies in eight days made carriages for upwards of forty-seven pieces, and mounted them.

The works on Mount Independence progressed very slowly, and by no means satisfactorily. Much time was lost by the New Hampshire and Connecticut troops in covering themselves with huts, they having brought no tents with them. Attention was first called by the General to the backward state of the works, and the "shameful dilatoriousness" of the troops was finally rebuked in general orders.

On the 25th of August, it was announced that Colonel James Reed,* of New Hampshire, and Colonel Arthur St. Clair, of Pennsylvania, had been appointed brigadier-generals by Congress. Upon the promotion of Colonel St. Clair, Joseph Wood, who had succeeded to the lieutenant-colonelcy upon the resignation of Allen, became Colonel of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment. Considerable contention and a good deal of feeling grew out of the promotion of Wood to succeed Allen, as was very often the case when promotions were made in the Continental army. The resignation of Allen created the first

*JAMES REED was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1724, and had served in the Indian and French wars. He was a captain in the British army under General Abercrombie, and was present at his defeat before Ticonderoga, in July, 1758. He was also with General Amherst in the following year when Ticonderoga fell into his hands. He was made colonel of a regiment of New Hampshire troops, June 1st, 1775, with which he marched to Boston and took a conspicuous part in the battle of Bunker's Hill. His regiment was incorporated into the Continental army upon its organization in January, 1776. After the evacuation of Boston by the British, he marched with his regiment to New York, and from there to Canada, in the brigade of General Sullivan. Shortly after the retreat of the army to Ticonderoga, he was attacked with the fever which was prevalent at that place, and was removed to the hospital at Fort George. He was made brigadier-general by Congress, August 9th, 1776. His illness resulted in the loss of his sight, and put an end to his military career. He died at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, February 13th, 1807.

vacancy that had occurred since the organization of the Pennsylvania regiments, and no plan of promotion had been adopted by Congress. Wood was Morris' junior officer, and if the field officers were to be promoted by the line, Morris was entitled to the vacant rank. If they were to rise regimentally, it belonged to Wood. In this instance, Congress adopted the regimental plan, after considerable discussion wherein, though not strictly relevant to the issue, the respective claims of the two officers were strongly pressed by their friends. General Gates espoused the cause of Morris, and a letter from Captain Jonathan Jones to Major Morgan, at Philadelphia, criticising Major Wood's conduct at the battle of Three Rivers, was used against that officer. Major Morris considered himself greatly aggrieved at the promotion of Wood. "Congress having been pleased to promote a junior officer over me," he wrote to a friend in Philadelphia, from Ticonderoga, "has rendered a continuance in the service under the present circumstances incompatible with my honor. Nothing but a sense of duty toward the public, as well as not being able to answer it to my own feelings, prevented my resigning immediately on hearing of Major Wood's preferment." Congress shortly after admitted its error by adopting the plan of promoting field officers by the line, and the wrong done Major Morris was partially atoned by his promotion, two months later, to the lieutenant-colonelcy of his own regiment.

The troops labored on the intrenchments unremittingly, without a day's rest, for ten weeks, until Sunday, the 22d of September, when the General ordered all work except that necessary for the equipment of vessels to be suspended, and divine service to be held in every brigade,

at which all troops were ordered to be present with their arms and accoutrements in good order.

Time was found, in the midst of these scenes of military activity, to try many deserters and other offenders by court-martial. They were usually sentenced to receive forty stripes save one, on their bare backs, at guard-mounting, at the head of their regiments. As an additional penalty, one was sentenced "to wear a withe round his neck for fourteen days as a mark of ignominy," and another, "to be drummed out of the army with a halter round his neck, and sent over Lake George."

Though the labors on the intrenchments were incessant, great attention was paid to the cleanly appearance of the Pennsylvania troops. Soap was provided in abundance, and the men were required to appear upon parade with "their hair well powdered and neatly tied and plaited."



CHARLES PATER

Major-General, and Commander of the 1st Division, 1841-1842

CHAPTER XII.

Work on the Fleet at Skenesborough—Arnold Assigned to the Command—Arrival of part of the Fleet at Crown Point—A False Alarm—Conflict of Authority between General Arnold and Captain Wynkoop—The Fleet Sails down Lake Champlain—Arrives at Windmill Point—Position of the British Army—A Boat's Crew driven from the Shore with Loss of Life—The Fleet Cannonades the Wood, which occasions a False Report of an Engagement with the Enemy—Activity at Ticonderoga and Albany in Consequence Thereof—False Reports from the Mohawk Country—The Fleet Ascends the Lake and Anchors behind Valcour Island—Colonel Edward Wigglesworth—The Row-Galleys join the Fleet—Sickness among the Ship-carpenters at Skenesborough.

WHILE the troops were busy fortifying Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, the ship-carpenters who had been sent up from the Atlantic seaboard were rapidly pushing forward the work on the fleet at Skenesborough. General Arnold, who had had considerable experience in ship-building and navigation as a merchant before the war, had been assigned by General Gates to the command of the fleet. He had turned his attention in the same direction after the fall of Ticonderoga in the preceding year, when he armed, manned, and equipped a little squadron upon the lake, consisting of a sloop, a schooner, and a flotilla of bateaux. He gave his personal supervision to the construction of the fleet, assisted by General David Waterbury, of Connecticut, who had been appointed second officer, and of whom Gates spoke "as an able seaman and a brave officer." There was a small garrison stationed at Skenesborough

for the protection of the carpenters (composed at different times of Wynkoop's and parts of Swift's and Van Dyke's regiments), who occupied the large stone mansion and other stone buildings which had been erected there by Governor Skene.

On the 23d of July, ten sergeants, six corporals, six drummers, and a hundred and two privates were drafted from the four Pennsylvania regiments, to serve as seamen and marines on board the fleet.

By the 5th of August, the schooner *Royal Savage*, Captain Jacobus Wynkoop, carrying 4 six-pounders, 8 four-pounders, and fifty men; the sloop *Enterprise*, Captain Dickenson, carrying 12 four-pounders and fifty men (which had been captured by Arnold from the British at St. Johns in May, 1775); the schooner *Revenge*, Captain Seaman, carrying 4 four and 4 two pounders and thirty-five men; and the gondolas *Boston*, Captain Sumner; *New Haven*, Captain Samuel Mansfield; and *Providence*, Captain Simonds, carrying each 1 twelve and 2 six pounders and forty-five men, were ready for service, and sailed down the lake to Crown Point. Within a few days they were joined there by the schooner *Liberty*, Captain Premier, carrying 4 four and 4 two pounders and thirty-five men (which had been captured at Skenesborough by Captain Herrick, in May, 1775); and gondolas *Spitfire*, Captain Ulmer; *New York*, Captain Reed, and *Connecticut*, Captain Grant, each carrying 1 twelve and 2 six pounders and forty-five men. All of these vessels had been rigged and received their armament at Ticonderoga.

At ten o'clock on the night of the 15th, Arnold joined them at Crown Point, having left Colonel Groaton, while his health permitted, to command the first brigade. In

common with General Schuyler, and most others whose duties exposed them to the malaria of the district, Arnold was suffering from a slight attack of intermittent fever. On the 17th, a party of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, posted seven miles down the lake as a covering party for the oar-makers, had built a large fire, which was interpreted as a signal that the enemy was approaching. Arnold at once sent Colonel Hartley with one hundred men to their assistance, and ordered the schooners *Revenge* and *Liberty* to move down the lake. The schooners had no sooner got under way than they were brought to by a shot across their bows from the *Royal Savage*. It was occasioned by a conflict of authority between General Arnold and Captain Wynkoop. The latter contended that having been appointed by General Schuyler in May (under authority of Congress and the province of New York), to the command of all the vessels on Lake Champlain, he had not been regularly superseded by Arnold's appointment, which came only from General Gates. General Gates' attention was called immediately to the conduct of Captain Wynkoop, whereupon he put him under arrest, and sent him to General Schuyler at Albany.

On the 24th, Arnold sailed from Crown Point with the fleet, ten vessels in number. His quarters were on board Wynkoop's vessel, the *Royal Savage*, to the command of which Captain Hawley was subsequently appointed. On the night of the 25th, the fleet anchored at Willsborough, below Split Rock, where it was overtaken on the following day by a violent storm from the north-east. Further progress was not only impossible, but by two o'clock the storm had increased to such a degree of violence that the safety of the fleet made it necessary to weigh anchor

and ascend the lake, before the gale, to Button-mould Bay, on the east side of the lake above Split Rock, where they found shelter. The gale continued without intermission until the 1st of September, when the fleet again proceeded down the lake, under the influence of a fresh southerly breeze, and reached Schuyler's Island on the evening of the 2d. Navigation of the lake beyond that point being unsafe at night, they anchored there until the following morning.

On the 3d, with the same favorable wind, they reached Windmill Point, at the northern end of the lake, within two or three miles of the Canadian border.

An outpost of the enemy, several hundred strong, occupied Isle aux Tête, six miles below, and the country intervening between that island and Windmill Point. Upon the approach of the fleet this advance guard retreated precipitately, with the report that the rebels had appeared in their front with forty vessels.

At that time General Fraser occupied Isle aux Noix, to which place he had advanced on the 10th of August with five companies of grenadiers, five companies of light infantry, and the twenty-fourth regiment. Masons had previously been sent there to repair the old French defences of the island. It had been selected as the base of supplies for the British army which was about to cross the lake, and for that purpose had been strongly fortified. Magazines, depots, block-houses, and barracks had been erected there. Carleton, who had returned from Quebec, had his headquarters at Chamblee, where General Burgoyne also was with the first brigade, and General Phillips with the corps of artillery. The sixty-second regiment and two hundred Germans were at St. Johns, under Lieutenant-Colonel Specht. The remainder

of the German troops were at La Prairie, under General Riedesel. Gordon's brigade was encamped on the road from St. Johns to La Prairie. The twenty-second regiment was on the road from St. Johns to Chamblee. A train of artillery, consisting of 8 twenty-four, 12 eighteen, 18 twelve pounders and guns of other calibre, had been sent forward to Isle aux Noix, to be mounted on the intrenchments there.

Arnold posted his guard-boats a mile below Windmill Point, and effectually blockaded the lake by mooring his vessels in a line across it. He also sent Lieutenant Whitcomb down the west side of the Sorel river, and Ensign McCoy down the east side, with a squad of three men each, to obtain intelligence of the enemy.

On the 6th he was joined at Windmill Point by the row-galley Lee, commanded by Captain Davis, carrying 1 twelve, 1 nine, and 4 four pounders and eighty-six men; and the gondola Jersey, Captain Grimes, carrying 1 twelve and 2 six pounders and forty-five men. On the same day the boats were ordered on shore to cut fascines to fix on the bows and sides of the gondolas, to prevent the enemy from boarding them and to keep off small shot. A boat's crew of the sloop Enterprise went on shore without a covering party. They had been out upon the same duty the two preceding days with covering parties and returned unmolested, but upon this occasion they neglected that precaution, when they were attacked by a party of the Forty-seventh Regiment and savages, under Lieutenant Scott of the light infantry of the Twenty-fourth Regiment, who pursued them into the water. They all reached the boat, but before they could row off, three of them, Michael Sargent, Thomas Allen, and Moses Powell, were killed; and six others, Robert

Owens, George Stanley, Archibald McDonald, James Quarel, John Shoemaker, and Jonathan Stody, were wounded. A heavy cannonade was opened from the fleet upon the woods, which was heard at Crown Point and reported at Ticonderoga immediately by Colonel Hartley as an action between the hostile fleets. Gates in turn spread the alarm by sending the information to Schuyler. He also issued an order to the troops at midnight, expressing the greatest confidence in their firmness and fidelity; reminding them that the fleet was only their advance guard; that if it was defeated the defence of the United States and of American freedom would fall upon them, and hoping that every officer and soldier under his command would prepare to the utmost of their ability to repel the attack of the enemy. It was some days before they were relieved of their suspense and the cause of the firing explained.

When the alarm reached General Schuyler, he applied to the counties of Dutchess and Ulster in New York, and the neighboring counties of New England, to order their militia up. About the same time he received through Colonel Dayton, who was at Fort Schuyler, a report that a large body of the enemy, composed chiefly of Indians, would shortly arrive at Oswego, and that another body was on the march for the Mohawk. There was also some apprehension that they might come in by Fort George and attempt to cut off the communication with Ticonderoga. This invading force, as was gathered from the statements of prisoners, was composed of nearly eight hundred Indians, Maclean's* Royal Highland emigrants, and some Canadians, New York royalists, known as the Royal

*COLONEL MACLEAN had become dissatisfied because he had not received the advancement he expected, and had returned to London in July.

Greens, and Scotch volunteers under Sir John Johnson, who cherished the most bitter resentment against the patriots, who had driven him from his patrimonial estate in the country of the Mohawk. This gentleman, apprehensive of arrest, left his home (Johnson Hall, near Johnstown) in June, 1776, with a company of loyalists and Mohawk Indians, and after nineteen days' journey through the pathless wilderness lying between the head waters of the Hudson and the St. Lawrence, reached Montreal, where he was cordially received by Sir Guy Carleton, who gave him a commission to raise two battalions of five hundred men each.

Schuyler, therefore, amidst these gathering alarms from different quarters, which continued to harass him throughout the fall (for it was not known to him that the British had abandoned all designs upon the Mohawk country before the first of August), made a further appeal for militia to the committee of Albany county. The appeal was promptly responded to, and the militia began to arrive at Albany almost immediately.

Gates desired all the available militia to be sent to Fort George and Skenesborough, but Schuyler deemed it advisable to hold them at Albany until further information should enable him to determine whether they would be most needed to the westward or at Ticonderoga. It was deemed prudent, also, by Schuyler, ultimately to send parts of Wynkoop's, Van Schaick's, Van Dyke's, and Mott's regiments into the tory districts on the Mohawk, and to keep Nicholson's and Elmore's Continental regiments there also. When the cause of the false alarm from Ticonderoga was communicated to Schuyler, he countermanded his order for the militia, and sent those from Albany home.

On the second night after the false alarm created by the firing of the fleet upon the savages, mysterious movements were discovered on shore opposite Windmill Point, which gave rise to the belief that the enemy were secretly erecting batteries on both sides of the lake, with the design of attacking the fleet. As the lake was only a mile and a quarter wide at that point, it was deemed prudent by Arnold to weigh anchor and ascend to a place of greater security. He accordingly got all his vessels under sail before daybreak and anchored the fleet at Isle la Motte, eight miles further up the lake, where it is two miles in width, at two o'clock on the afternoon of the 8th. Four guard-boats were kept constantly out, and another went the rounds every two hours of the night, to prevent surprise.

About this time sickness began to appear among the men on board the fleet, and to increase rapidly. It became necessary to send thirty-seven of their number back to the general hospital. Like their comrades at Ticonderoga, the men were greatly in want of suitable clothing to protect them from the increasing severity of the weather, and they were also scant of rum, which, in the absence of clothing, was resorted to to keep out the wet and cold.

They were supplied with provisions for six or eight days only, which was not sufficient for their safety, for at that stormy season of the year it often took that length of time to communicate between the two ends of the lake, and they had no base of supplies nearer than Ticonderoga.

On the 9th, the fleet was further strengthened by the arrival at Isle la Motte of the gondola Philadelphia, Captain Rice, carrying 1 twelve and 2 six pounders and

forty-five men, with Colonel Wigglesworth* on board, who had been appointed third officer of the fleet.

On the 19th of September, at noon, Arnold, having cruised throughout the length and breadth of the lake without encountering the slightest resistance from the enemy's vessels, weighed anchor with the whole fleet and arrived the same evening at Bay St. Amand, two leagues to the northward of Cumberland Head, on the west shore of the lake. They were pursued up the shore by two or three hundred British Canadians and savages, with whom shots were exchanged, with loss on both sides. Those subtle savages were provided with a number of white-birch canoes, which they kept concealed in the bushes during the day, and in the night prowled about the water in them undiscovered, with the purpose of intercepting the dispatch or supply boats, or otherwise harassing the fleet.

The fleet was overtaken at Bay St. Amand, on the 20th, by an exceedingly heavy equinoctial gale, which it managed to ride without loss or serious damage. Arnold sent boats from here to make soundings around Valcour Island, with the intention of taking permanent position there and awaiting the approach of the enemy's fleet. He was growing very impatient at the delay of the row-galleys (which were being constructed at Skenesborough, nearly after the model of those built in Philadelphia),

*EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, January 3d, 1742. He was appointed a captain of matrosses by the Massachusetts Assembly, June 29th, 1776. He was subsequently appointed colonel of one of the Massachusetts regiments of militia intended for the reinforcement of the army at Ticonderoga. After his arrival at that place with his regiment, General Gates appointed him third officer of the fleet. On the 6th of November, 1776, he was appointed colonel of a regiment of regular troops in the new Continental establishment, which commission he resigned March 10th, 1779. He was appointed Collector of Newburyport, Massachusetts, by Washington, at which place he died December 8th, 1826.

which he deemed of great importance to the strength of the fleet. Availing himself of the first fair wind, he sailed up to Valcour Island on the 23d, where he moored his vessels in a line across the narrow pass between the island and the western shore of the lake. This pass was deep enough for the purposes of navigation, and half a mile wide. From here he sent a German and a New Englander as spies into Canada, with their instructions and credentials sewed up between the soles of their shoes. He also stationed two men on Isle la Motte to watch the movements of the enemy. The schooners *Revenge* and *Liberty* were constantly cruising above and below Valcour Island, and half the men on each vessel were kept constantly on deck with matches lighted to guard against surprise. Lieutenant Whitcomb was also kept upon scout duty down the lake.

This daring officer had been continually employed upon this service since his assassination of General Gordon, though the policy of retaining him was much criticized in the army, and upon one occasion had brought into Ticonderoga, as prisoner, a quartermaster of a British regiment.

On the 30th of September, Arnold was joined at Valcour Island, to his great relief, by the row-galley *Trumbull*, Captain Warner, carrying 1 eighteen, 1 twelve, 2 nine, and 4 six pounders, and on the afternoon of the 6th of October, the fleet was completed by the arrival of General Waterbury, with the row-galleys *Congress*, carrying 2 eight, 2 twelve, and 4 six pounders, and *Washington*, Captain Thatcher, carrying 1 eighteen, 1 twelve, 2 nine, and 4 four pounders. General Arnold at once shifted his quarters from the *Royal Savage* to the *Congress*.

The completion of these last vessels had been greatly delayed by the prostration of the ship-carpenters at Skenesborough, with chills and fever and other maladies. By the last of August not one in five was able to work. When the galleys were finished many of the carpenters were sent home, and by the last of September they were all so exhausted by disease that no more work could be expected from them.

General Waterbury took command of the Washington and Colonel Wigglesworth of the Trumbull. The whole fleet thus completed consisted of sixteen sail, carrying ninety-four guns, and about eight hundred officers and men. By directions of General Gates, it was divided into three divisions, with General Arnold in the centre, General Waterbury on the right, and Colonel Wigglesworth on the left. "This disposition," wrote General Gates, "will teach the captains of the vessels to know their commanding officers, and prevent any confusion or dispute about command in case an unlucky shot, or other accident, should take off the general."

CHAPTER XIII.

Scarcity of Clothing in the Army—Anxiety occasioned by Expiring Enlistments—De Haas, Maxwell's, and part of Wind's Regiments Consent to Remain—Movements of the British Army—Arrival of a Second Detachment of Hessian and Brunswick Troops—The British Advance up the Lake—General William Phillips—News of the Naval Battle received at Ticonderoga—Arrival of Arnold with the Remains of the Fleet at Ticonderoga.

THE weather was becoming cold and the army at Ticonderoga was still greatly in need of all kinds of clothing, but chiefly of shoes and stockings, none of which were to be had in that country. All they had received since they left Canada were one thousand and eight pairs of shoes, one hundred and seventy-seven pairs of moccasins, and four hundred and fifty-four shirts, to be distributed among four thousand men fit for duty. Although a large share of these fell to the Pennsylvania brigade, many of them were still without either, and had been without them since they lost them at Quebec or in the swamps before the battle of Three Rivers. "Unless a very speedy supply is sent," wrote General Schuyler to Congress, "the most fatal consequences will ensue." He urged Congress as a last resort to procure a supply of yarn socks in Pennsylvania, and piece them out with Indian stockings. Later, Governor Trumbull sent them two loads of clothing, and the continued reports of their distressing condition led Congress to direct Mease and Caldwell to send them all they had in the general store at

Philadelphia, consisting of fourteen hundred and eighty-seven pairs of men's shoes, nine hundred and sixty pairs of milled yarn hose, twenty-three hundred and eighty white linen shirts, and fifteen hundred Russia linen shirts.

Colonel De Haas, writing from Ticonderoga, speaks of the condition of his men as follows:—"The arms are in tolerable order, but of different calibre. The accoutrements bad, many bayonets wanting. The men almost naked, and have been so two-thirds of the campaign, their clothing, when they marched from Philadelphia, being very scanty, and not a second shirt to their backs. The pitiful supplies of sundry articles which they received since, were bad of the kind, and at most exorbitant prices. On our arrival at the Isle aux Noix, after the retreat from Quebec, the regiment mustered upwards of five hundred rank and file fit for duty. By comparing the above return with the then state of the regiment, it will appear that they have suffered from the excessive fatigue they have gone through, the want of proper clothing to cover, and the want of blankets and tents to shelter them from the weather. To this day we have not tents sufficient for two-thirds of the men, and those we have were old when we received them. A regimental commissary and paymaster are unknown to us. (The latter I have been myself.) The quartermaster has never been enabled by the public to supply the regiment in a proper manner. After the hardships of a winter campaign in Canada, with those they have since experienced, there is not the least reason to think that any of the men will re-enlist at this place. The merit of those officers who can afford and choose to continue in the service on the present inadequate terms will be best determined after the expected attack."

Congress had sent to General Schuyler \$300,000, half of which he immediately sent to Canada. In June they sent him \$21,752.50 in silver and \$187,000 in paper money. \$100,000 more was taken up by General Gates. In August they sent him the still further sum of \$513,000, which was much needed to pay for the mileage and billeting of the militia. But these supplies of money enabled him only partially to meet the wants of the army, which were daily increasing, and of which he was so constantly and painfully reminded and which he labored so faithfully and patriotically to relieve. By the middle of August, with the most rigid economy, his money-chests contained less than \$100,000.

Though still suffering from the need of many things, the Northern Army had become at length the first object of the care and solicitude of Congress and the Colonies, who had been tardily awakened by the oft-told tales of their sufferings to a sense of the neglect with which this army had been treated. Even now much of the interest they manifested was owing, no doubt, to the fact that it was no longer an army of conquest sent to acquire territory of which they knew comparatively little, with whose people they had little or no intercourse, and with whom they were not allied by the ties of either language or religion; but that the army then stood upon their own frontier, and formed their only barrier against the perils of an invasion, which, if successful, would sever the colonies in twain. Even the pressing wants of Washington's army, then about to begin its disastrous retreat across the Jerseys, were postponed in the anxiety and interest which had been awakened for the Northern Army.

In the midst of the manifold embarrassments with

which General Schuyler had to contend in his efforts to rehabilitate and reinforce the Northern Army, a new cause for anxiety (the fruit of short enlistments) now presented itself. The time of service of De Haas, Maxwell's, and Wind's regiments was rapidly running out. DeHaas' had been enlisted until October 27th. Schuyler earnestly entreated Congress to take some measures to retain these troops; he also called Washington's attention to this new source of peril to the cause, and urged him to request Congress to offer these regiments some inducements to remain until all danger was over. "If they leave Ticonderoga," he wrote, "it will not only weaken, but greatly dispirit our troops." Washington at once laid the matter before Congress, but replied to Schuyler that it was too late for Congress to act, or for anything to be done unless the officers would exert themselves in prevailing on the men to remain. "If the officers are spirited and well inclined," he added, "they may lead their men as they please." To these, therefore, Schuyler resorted. "For God's sake," he wrote to Gates, "try to keep the Pennsylvania and New Jersey regiments in service until every possibility of the enemy's crossing the lake this campaign disappears. They may, as you imagine, soon make the attempt. I rather wish they would than delay it five or six weeks longer, as I fear too many of our troops will leave you by that time." The reliance of Washington upon the officers as a last resort was not misplaced. De Haas' and Maxwell's regiments cheerfully consented to remain as long as an enemy was in their front. Colonel Wind and the greater part of his officers and men refused, and left the camp on the 6th of November, followed by the reproof of the General and their companions in arms. Drums were beat by

order of General Gates "in derision of the few who had the baseness to quit their post in this time of danger." De Haas, Maxwell's, and such of the First New Jersey, under Major William De Hart, "as had an honest zeal for the service of their country" and remained, were thanked in a general order by the General for their readiness in complying with his request to remain for the defense and security of the post after their term of service had expired.

Meanwhile the enemy were industriously engaged in making preparations to cross the lake, and Sir William Howe, at New York, was anxiously waiting to hear from them before attempting to pass the forts in the Highlands of the Hudson. They had repaired the road from Isle aux Noix to Chamblee. On the 24th of June, Carleton had held a conference in the Church of the Jesuits, at Montreal, with the Caughnawaga and St. Francis Indians, which was attended by all his general officers and three hundred savages, and at which an alliance was formed with the Indians for one year. These same Indians came to Montreal no longer ago than the 7th of June, and, after the usual speeches and ceremonies, delivered up the hatchet which Carleton had given them in the preceding year, to General Arnold, and promised to be neutral in the approaching conflict. Carleton compelled the Canadians who had accepted commissions from Congress to go through the farcical ceremony of burning them in public, and confiscated the estates of all those who had followed the American army. The inhabitants who had sympathized with the cause of the Americans were compelled by the priests to do penance in public.

A vessel had arrived at Quebec, on the 29th of July, having on board a regiment of Hesse Hanau Artillery,

numbering three hundred and fifty men, and on the 17th of September the second division of Brunswick troops arrived there, in five transports, consisting of the regiment of Infantry Von Rhetz, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ehrenkrook; and a regiment of Brunswick riflemen, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Barner. Nineteen men died during the voyage.

Of the four thousand German troops who thus came to Canada under General Riedesel in 1776, only two thousand eight hundred returned.

The British army in Canada with these reinforcements consisted of from twelve thousand to thirteen thousand men.

On the 10th of September they were put in motion for the advance up the lake, but their progress was very slow. On that day Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, a cousin of the General, with four hundred Indians, in their own canoes, moved up the Sorel river. On the following day seventy-six men out of each company of the German brigade embarked. They numbered thirteen hundred officers and men, and filled eighty-two boats. General Fraser with his van brigade, composed of grenadiers, light infantry, and the Twenty-fourth Regiment, advanced up the left bank of the Sorel and rested on the river Colte, five miles from the New York line.

The grenadiers of this brigade were commanded by Major John Dyke Ackland, of the Twentieth Regiment, who was accompanied by his accomplished wife, Lady Harriet Ackland, whose adventurous journey into the American lines in the following year, to attend her husband, who had been wounded and taken prisoner at Saratoga, has become a familiar and romantic incident in American history.

The First Brigade, under General Burgoyne, consisting of the Ninth, Twenty-first, Thirty-first, and Forty-seventh British Regiments, the Regiment Reidesel, and the Hanau Regiment of the German troops, moved up to Isle aux Noix. The Fifty-ninth Regiment was in the neighborhood of St. Theresa. General Phillips* with that portion of the corps of artillery that was not on board the fleet, the Twentieth and Sixty-second Regiments and part of the Twenty-ninth, were at St. Johns with the remainder of the German troops under Riedesel. The Thirty-fourth Regiment was near Chamblee. One hundred and thirty boats, each capable of carrying twenty men, were distributed among these troops, and two covered boats were furnished each general for himself and staff. The sick and heavy baggage were sent back to Montreal, which was garrisoned by Maclean's Royal Highland Emigrants.

It was not until the 14th of October, however, that

*WILLIAM PHILLIPS entered the British army as a captain of artillery in May, 1756. He served with credit in Germany; was brevetted lieutenant-colonel in 1770, and was made colonel of his regiment May 25th, 1772. He was appointed to the command of the corps of artillery sent to Canada in 1776, and made major-general in June of that year. He took part in the campaign which followed, and in the expedition under Burgoyne in 1777. He commanded the left wing of the British army in the action of September 19th, 1777, and the centre in the action of October 7th, 1777. With General Riedesel he covered the retreat of the main body on that disastrous day for the British arms. He was taken prisoner at the surrender of Burgoyne, and his portrait is conspicuous in the foreground of the painting of that event, in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. He was exchanged in November, 1779. In March, 1781, he sailed from New York with two thousand troops for Portsmouth, Virginia, where he superseded Benedict Arnold in the command of the British forces at that place, greatly to the relief of the British officers, and completed the fortifications of the town. From this point he marched through the country adjacent to the James river, destroying tobacco warehouses, vessels, military stores, and other valuable property. Having accomplished his mission of desolation, he started in ill-health for Petersburg, where he expected to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis. He died four days after his arrival at that place, on the 13th of May, 1781. He was haughty and irritable, and professed great contempt for the Americans and their cause, but was deeply regretted by his companions in arms as a meritorious and well-tried soldier.

Generals Burgoyne and Fraser embarked their respective corps in bateaux upon the open waters of the lake from Point au Fer. The Twentieth and Sixty-second Regiments were left at Isle aux Noix to guard the supplies there.

It may be well to remark here that these two regiments, though assigned in this campaign to the comparatively inglorious duty of guarding the supplies in the rear, bore, together with the Twenty-first, the brunt of Arnold's furious assault upon the centre of the British army at the battle of Freeman's Farm (September 19th, 1777), upon which occasion more than half their number were slain.

All the German troops, except the Hanau Artillery, also remained in Canada as a reserve. The remainder of the army followed the fleet up the lake.

On Saturday, the 12th of October, an express arrived at Ticonderoga from Crown Point with information that heavy cannonading had been heard on the preceding day down the lake, which was supposed to be between the British and American fleets. All that day and night the American army anxiously awaited further tidings from below. The next morning the news was confirmed by the booming of the signal-gun at Crown Point.

Only two days before, the troops at Ticonderoga had been admonished in general orders that "the long stillness and seeming supineness of the enemy strongly indicated that they were meditating some stroke of importance." "It behooves, therefore, every officer and soldier of this army," the order continued, "to be exceedingly vigilant and alert, particularly when upon duty." It was with sensations of relief and readiness that the troops welcomed the news that their long state of suspense was over.

The report of the signal-gun at Crown Point was soon followed by the arrival of an express boat with intelligence that a severe engagement had been fought between the two fleets on Friday, the 11th, at Valcour Island, in which the British had been victorious.

This discouraging news was shortly after followed by incessant reports of heavy cannonading, which lasted from eleven o'clock until three. The action had evidently been renewed nearer at hand.

In the course of that same Sunday night, a scout of sixty men, under Captain Thomas Church, of Wayne's regiment, returned to Ticonderoga, bringing with them the heavy baggage from Crown Point, one hundred and forty men of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment who were sick with chills and fever, and news of the final disaster to the American fleet. At four o'clock the next morning, General Arnold, Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley, with the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, and what was left of the fleet, arrived at Ticonderoga. Arnold was exceedingly weak and unwell, having been without sleep or nourishment for nearly three days.

CHAPTER XIV.

Construction of the British Fleet—It Sets Sail upon Lake Champlain—The Naval Battle of October 11th—Skillful Retreat of the Americans—Viscount Exmouth—Escape of part of the American Fleet—The Naval Battle of October 13th—Surrender of the Washington—Arnold Runs his Vessels Ashore and Burns them—Ambushing the Bridle Path to Crown Point—Escape of Arnold and his Men to Ticonderoga—The Loss on both sides—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Hartley—Release of American Prisoners—Carleton's motive for releasing them.

WE left Arnold with his fleet moored between Valcour Island and the western shore of the lake, awaiting the approach of the enemy. He had arrested, while there, a number of disaffected persons residing along the shores of the lake, whom he suspected of giving information and comfort to the enemy, and sent them under guard to Ticonderoga.

The British had been constantly engaged ever since the beginning of July in constructing and fitting out a fleet to control Lake Champlain and carry their army over the lake, during which time, wrote Captain Douglas of the *Isis*, they had performed "prodigies of labor almost exceeding belief." Ship-wrights had been constantly busy at Montreal, Chamblee, and St. Johns in constructing vessels and bateaux. All soldiers who were carpenters had been sent to Chamblee, Sorel, and St. Johns to work on the vessels, and were allowed a shilling extra per diem while so engaged. On the 7th of July the English frigate *Jailer* arrived at Quebec with ten gunboats, so constructed that they could be taken apart and

transported overland to the lakes. Thirty long boats, a number of flat-bottomed craft, a gondola weighing about thirty tons, and over four hundred bateaux were transported overland or dragged up the rapids of St. Therese and St. Johns.

Sir Guy Carleton had expected to be able to embark upon the lake by the middle of September, but receiving information of the formidable armament of the Americans already there, he determined to make additional preparation before attempting the expedition; accordingly, a three-masted ship called the *Inflexible*, and two schooners, the *Maria* and *Carleton*, were taken to pieces, carried up to St. Johns, and reconstructed there. An attempt had been made to drag these vessels around the rapids of Chamblee on rollers, but the attempt failed, and they were obliged to take them apart after they had been landed. These additional preparations delayed the movement of the British until October. The keel of the *Inflexible* was laid September 6th, three days after Arnold had anchored his fleet at Windmill Point. She was completed in twenty-eight days thereafter. It was necessary, however, to run her into deeper water below the *Isle aux Noix* before she could receive her armament of 18 twelve-pounders. All preparations being thus completed, the fleet set sail on the 4th of October, consisting of the ship *Inflexible*, Lieutenant Schank; schooner *Maria*, Lieutenant Starke, 14 brass six-pounders; schooner *Carleton*, Lieutenant Dacres, 12 brass six-pounders; the *Radeau Thunderer* (a floating battery with two masts), Lieutenant Scott, carrying 6 twenty-four and 6 twelve-pounders, and 2 howitzers; the gondola *Loyal Convert*, Lieutenant Longcroft, 7 nine-pounders. This gondola had been taken by the British after the siege of Que-

bec was raised. Twenty gunboats (ten of which had arrived from England), each carrying a brass field-piece, varying in calibre from 9 to 24 pounders, manned by men from the corps of Royal and Hanau artillery. Some of them also carried howitzers. In addition to these, there were four long boats, as armed tenders, carrying one field-piece each, mounted upon a gun-carriage, and also manned by the Royal Artillerists. Each of the vessels, *Inflexible*, *Carleton*, *Maria*, and *Thunderer*, had on board a company of the Twenty-ninth Regiment, detailed for service as marines. Half a company from the same regiment was also assigned to the *Loyal Convert*.

The British fleet thus constituted comprised twenty-nine sail, carrying eighty-nine guns, mostly of large calibre, and manned by six hundred and seventy experienced seamen detached from the British transports in the *St. Lawrence*, two hundred and twenty-three of whom had volunteered for the service. In addition to this there were twenty-four long boats carrying provisions. The whole under command of Captain Thomas Pringle of the armed ship *Lord Howe*, who had his quarters on board the schooner *Maria*. According to a British historian, "no equipment of the kind was ever better appointed or more amply furnished with every kind of provision necessary for the intended service."

Proceeding cautiously, the British fleet came to anchor below *Isle la Motte*, where it remained until the 9th, and *Carleton* sent out reconnoitering parties to discover the whereabouts of the American fleet. Having received a report from one of these parties that they could discover no traces of the American fleet, they proceeded further and still with great caution up the lake. On the 10th, another reconnoitering boat reported to *Carleton* that the

American fleet had been seen near Grand Island. He accordingly set sail and in the evening again cast anchor between Long and Grand Islands, within fifteen miles of the anchorage of the American fleet.

Early on the morning of Friday, the 11th of October, he again set sail in pursuit of the Americans, and a gun from the American alarm-boat soon announced to them that the British fleet was in sight. Shortly thereafter, under full sail, and before a fair wind from the northwest, the British fleet swept round Cumberland Head (a promontory projecting out beyond Valcour Island, four miles to the north). They passed the southern end of Valcour Island before they discovered Arnold's fleet, for it was so concealed by the Island that it could not be seen by vessels ascending the lake. The British fleet was then in mid-channel nearly two miles to the southeast of Valcour Island—the lake at this point being nearly thirteen miles wide. Arnold, upon discovering the first of the enemy's fleet, immediately ordered the *Royal Savage*, and the galleys *Congress*, *Washington*, and *Trumbull*, out into the stream to commence the attack, but when he had proceeded far enough to obtain a view of the lake, and discovered the force of the enemy to be nearly double his own, he made signal from the *Congress* to the other vessels to regain the line behind the island. To do this it was necessary to beat up against the wind. The enemy tried, by hauling close to the wind, to follow them, but they were unable to do so with their large vessels. The flagship *Inflexible*, the schooner *Maria*, and the *Thunderer* came to anchor therefore out in the lake. The morning was consumed in getting the vessels in position. At eleven o'clock the schooner *Carleton* opened a heavy fire upon the *Royal*

Savage and the three galleys, which was returned with spirit. The *Royal Savage*, in endeavoring to beat up against the wind in the narrow channel, was stranded on the island. One of her masts was injured, and her rigging shot away. Her crew escaped and the enemy boarded her and burned her that night. Arnold had not moved his effects from the *Royal Savage*, and all his papers and most of his clothing were destroyed on board of her. Half an hour later the *Carleton*, with the twenty gunboats, succeeded in forming a line three hundred and fifty yards distant from Arnold's line to the southward, and by noon the action began in earnest. A body of Indians and Canadians under Captain Fraser had advanced up the west shore of the lake. Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton with his body of four hundred Indians also came up the lake in their canoes and landed on Valcour Island. These bodies of Indians harassed the flanks of the Americans with their rifles, and added additional horror to the scene by their unearthly whoops and yells. The galleys were in the hottest of the fight. The Americans fought with great courage and desperation. The British movements were directed by Captain Thomas Pringle from on board the *Maria*, under the supervision of Sir Guy Carleton, who was also on board the *Maria*. The *Congress* and *Washington* suffered greatly. The latter lost her first lieutenant and three others killed, her captain, master, and several others wounded. She was hulled a number of times, her sails were torn to tatters, and she received a shot through her mainmast. The *Congress* was hulled twelve times, and received shots between wind and water. Her mainmast was struck in two places, and her yard in one. Arnold fought with his characteristic bravery—pointing many of the guns

on the Congress with his own hands. The gondola New York lost all her officers except the captain. The Philadelphia was hulled in so many places that she sunk about an hour after the engagement was over. The whole number of Americans killed and wounded amounted to about sixty. Many of the enemy's guns which did this disastrous work were twenty-four pounders. The enemy also embarked a number of men in bateaux to board the vessels, if possible, and to intercept the Americans in case they should attempt to escape by land. The enemy also suffered greatly. One of the British gunboats having on board the Hesse Hanau Artillery, under command of Lieutenant Fay, was sunk, and two of the crew drowned. The remainder were saved. The Carleton suffered severely. The British continued to pour in a very heavy fire of round and grape shot until five o'clock, when, finding the contest unequal without the use of their large vessels, they fell back to the distance of six or seven hundred yards, where they came to anchor, with the design of cutting off the American retreat and waiting for a more favorable wind which would enable them to bring their large vessels into action. At this distance the fire was continued until darkness compelled both combatants to desist.

The wind abated after sunset but still blew gently from the north-west. The ammunition of the Americans was about three-fourths exhausted. They had more than held their own against heavy odds, but this could not be continued in their crippled condition against the heavy reserve the British had in their large vessels. Arnold held a council of war on board the Congress, and being satisfied that further resistance to the overwhelmingly superior force of the enemy was hopeless, a retreat was

determined upon. The night was dark and foggy. Lanterns were placed below the sterns of the vessels so screened as to make them invisible, except to those directly in the wake. At seven o'clock Colonel Wigglesworth, in the Trumbull, took the lead, the other vessels followed at the distance of two hundred to three hundred yards apart, and the Congress and Washington brought up the rear. The whole fleet thus sailed noiselessly up the lake through the lines of the enemy, and made their escape without being discovered.

About eight o'clock the next morning the fog lifted, and the enemy, amazed and chagrined to find the American fleet gone, made hasty preparations to follow them. Carleton, in the surprise and confusion, having neglected to give orders for the advance of the army. Arnold and Waterbury, with the Congress and Washington and two gondolas, were then at Schuyler's Island, about ten miles up the lake, where they were obliged to stop to repair leaks and mend their sails. The remainder of the fleet had proceeded up the lake. The two gondolas were abandoned and sunk at Schuyler's Island, being past remedy, and at two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 12th, the Congress and Washington weighed anchor and endeavored to make way up the lake against a fresh breeze from the south-west.

The Trumbull and smaller boats were then five or six miles ahead, making fair progress under the western shore, and Arnold signaled them to ply their oars and make their way to Crown Point as rapidly as possible. The schooner Liberty had been sent back from Valcour Island to Crown Point for provisions on the 10th of October, and was not in the action.

Edward Pellew, afterwards Viscount Exmouth, then

a young man under twenty, was an officer on board the British fleet in this engagement, and distinguished himself by his gallantry.

In the evening the wind moderated, and the American vessels made such progress that by six o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 13th, the last of them was off Willsborough, twenty-eight miles below Crown Point. The fog was then so dense that it was impossible to see the length of a vessel, but when it cleared off, an hour or two later, the enemy's squadron was discovered a little above Schuyler's Island. A fresh breeze had sprung up from the north-west which brought the enemy up to within five miles of the Americans before they felt its influence. Before eleven o'clock the *Maria*, having the *Carleton* and *Inflexible* a short distance astern, was within range of the nine and twelve pounders in the stern of the *Congress* and *Washington*, from which a fire was opened upon them. The *Thunderer*, *Loyal Convert*, and the other vessels of the British fleet had been unable to keep up with the *Maria*, *Carleton*, and *Inflexible*, and therefore took no part in this second engagement. By the time the American vessels had reached Split Rock, the enemy were alongside of them. The remainder of the American fleet, with the exception of the galley *Lee*, which was run aground and abandoned by her crew, on the 13th, were then nearing Crown Point. Terrific broadsides of round and grape shot were poured into the *Congress*, *Washington*, and the four galleys from the British vessels. The *Washington* galley was in such a shattered condition, and had lost so many of her men in killed and wounded, that she was obliged to strike her flag after receiving several broadsides. General Waterbury and the crew were taken prisoners. This vessel



B. Arnold M Genl

was subsequently used by the British as a transport for supplies between Isle aux Noix and Crown Point. The three British vessels then concentrated their fire upon the Congress, two under her stern and one on her broadside. Within musket-shot they continued to pour into her an incessant fire of round and grape shot, shattering her sails, rigging, and hull. The first lieutenant and three of her crew were killed. Arnold returned their fire briskly, but all further resistance was hopeless. Desiring to prevent further sacrifice of life he determined to run his vessels ashore, and keep them, if possible, out of the enemy's hands. He ordered the four gondolas to precede him, and followed them himself in the Congress. It was then nearly three o'clock. They succeeded in reaching Button Mould Bay, on the east side of the lake a short distance above the mouth of Otter Creek. Here they set fire to their vessels with their flags flying at the mast-head. Arnold was the last man to land. The crews were drawn up on the shore above the burning vessels to protect their flags until they should be consumed. The enemy did not venture into the bay, but kept up a constant cannonade from a distance. They landed their Indians, however, to ambush the road and cut off Arnold's retreat. The British afterwards sent part of their garrison from Crown Point to raise the cannon and war material from these sunken vessels. The crew of the Congress, when the first action commenced on the 11th, amounted to seventy-three men, there now remained but forty-six—all the rest having been killed or wounded.

Having heroically preserved their colors and their ships from the hands of the enemy, in the midst of overwhelming disaster, Arnold, with his two hundred gallant

men, set off by a bridle path through the woods for Crown Point, ten miles distant, and narrowly escaped the enemy's Indians who ambushed the path two hours later. It was after dark when they arrived opposite Crown Point, at a place called Chimney Point, from the bare chimneys which stood there for many years after the French had burned the settlement on their retreat in 1759. The Trumbull, Revenge, Liberty, Enterprise, and a gondola, comprising the sole remnant of the American fleet, were then at anchor there, where the lake is less than three-quarters of a mile wide. On these vessels they crossed to Crown Point.

The whole loss of the Americans in these two actions was about eighty men, a very large proportion of whom were lost on board the Congress. The loss of the British was about half that number, eight of whom were killed and six wounded on board the Carleton. The rest were chiefly from among the artillerists in the gunboats, during the first day's engagement. General Carleton received a slight wound in the head from a splinter. The American wounded were sent to Ticonderoga, and from there to the hospital at Fort George.

It was utterly useless for this little band of disheartened men to attempt to make a stand at Crown Point, where Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley* had thrown up a

* THOMAS HARTLEY was born at Reading, Pennsylvania, September 7th, 1748, from which place he removed to York, where he practiced law. He was a member from York county of the Provincial Conventions which met at Philadelphia, July 15th, 1774, and January 23d, 1775. He was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment in the Continental Army, January 9th, 1776, and commanded the regiment after Colonel Irvine was taken prisoner at the battle of Three Rivers. He commanded an expedition to the Valley of Wyoming in 1778 after the massacre, and received the unanimous thanks of the Supreme Executive Council for his brave and prudent conduct in conducting it to a successful issue. He resigned his commission and was a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1778, and one of the Council of Censors in 1783.

few earthworks, capable of covering from one thousand to fifteen hundred men, late in August, and had mounted on them six French cannon which he had found in the woods. They therefore set fire to all buildings and houses in and near the place, including the saw-mill which had furnished some boards for the fleet, and Arnold with his party, the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, and what remained of the fleet, as we have seen, retreated to Ticonderoga.

On the evening of the 14th, a number of the enemy's row-boats, commanded by Captain Craig of the Forty-seventh Regiment of Infantry (afterwards Sir James H. Craig, Governor of Canada, and the same man who, as such, thirty-two years later, set on foot an intrigue, with the sanction of the British Government, for the separation of the Eastern States from the Union, and a return by them to their old allegiance to the Crown), arrived at the American advance boat under a flag of truce. They brought General Waterbury and the crew of the Washington, a hundred and ten in number, who had been released by General Carleton upon their parole. They were so warm in their praises of Carleton, for the kindness and generosity with which he had treated them, that it was thought prudent to prevent them from having intercourse with the garrison, and they were sent to Skenesborough the same night on their way to their homes.

It was surmised, whether with justice to the motives of that humane officer (admittedly the ablest on the

He was a delegate to the Convention of Pennsylvania which ratified the Constitution of the United States, December 12th, 1787, and a member of Congress from the organization of the Government in 1789 to the time of his death, which occurred at York, Pennsylvania, December 21st, 1800.

British side during the war) or not, it is difficult to say, that Carleton had lavished his kindness on these ragged American prisoners, and then set them free, with the intent that they should spread their good reports of him and the king's army among their suffering brethren, thereby acting as his unconscious emissaries in sowing the seeds of discontent with their cause among their comrades, and softening their animosities toward the crown.

CHAPTER XV.

Occupation of Crown Point by the British Army—An Attack on Ticonderoga expected—It is delayed by unfavorable winds—The Americans improve the time by preparing for it—New Post established on Mount Hope—Construction of a Boom across the Lake—Cutting down the trees on the Crown Point Road—Wet and stormy weather—Precautions against surprise—Construction of a Floating Bridge between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence—Provisions for the Wounded—Scouting Parties—Gates calls for Ten to Fifteen Thousand Militia—The Lower Country alive with the movements of armed Men—Arrival of New England Militia at Ticonderoga—Scarcity of Provisions—Washington's opinion of Militia—Promotion of Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine, Major Morris, Captain Jonathan Jones, and Captain Grier—Advance of General Fraser's Division to Putnam's Point under the Guns of the British Fleet—General Simon Fraser—An Attack hourly expected—Richard Stockton and George Clymer—Their comments on the sufferings of the Troops.

ON the 14th of October, the British fleet anchored off Crown Point. Three vessels, including the schooner *Maria* (on board of which Sir Guy Carleton had his quarters), and a number of flat-bottomed boats, remained there. The other vessels went back for stores, cannon, and to bring up the army. In a few days thereafter the British army occupied Crown Point, and Chimney Point opposite, where they were joined by a band of New York Tories. From this time forward an attack upon Ticonderoga was expected, first daily, and then hourly. It was likely to be a desperate struggle, but the Americans were hopeful of the result. In anticipation of it, Gates issued an address to the troops. "As the enemy's attack will most probably be rash and sudden," he wrote, "the Gen-

eral earnestly recommends to every commanding officer of a regiment, party, post, or detachment, to be deliberate and cool in suffering his men to fire, never allowing them to throw away their shot in a random, unsoldier-like manner. One close well-directed fire, at the distance of eight or ten rods, will do more towards defeating the enemy, than all the scattered, random shot, fired in a whole day. The commanding officers of artillery will give proper directions in this respect to all under their command. The good effects of a due observance of this order will, with the favor of Heaven, secure the victory."

The troops were ready, and waited impatiently for the attack. Arnold sent his public and private papers with a considerable sum of hard and paper money to General Schuyler for safe keeping. Fourteen birch canoes loaded with Indians came up the lake to within five miles of Ticonderoga, but the wind blew hard from the south, and no further tidings of the enemy were received. They would not come without their fleet, and the fleet could not ascend this narrow stretch of the lake, until the wind should shift to a more favorable quarter. Upon the variableness of the wind the probabilities of an attack for a time depended. The Americans availed themselves of the delay in preparing for it. Gun-carriages were constructed and guns mounted. The lines and redoubts of the brigade of Massachusetts militia, under General Brickett, were in a very incomplete state. There were not sufficient entrenching tools to employ all the militia who were off duty upon them. So they were divided into three parties who relieved each other throughout the day. Arnold was assigned to the command of all the troops and redoubts on the flat ground north of the old

fort, including the stone redoubt on the eastern point, and the vessels which guarded the boom.

The Pennsylvania brigade in the French lines occupied the left of the position, and to guard against every possibility of its being turned, a post was established upon an eminence half a mile in their front, which was significantly called Mount Hope. It was expected that the weight of the assault would fall upon the French lines, and consequently the Americans had prepared to receive it there. It was not at all probable that Mount Independence would be attacked, as the open state of the country below it, and its great natural strength, made it almost impregnable. Measures were taken to prevent the enemy from advancing higher up the lake than the American outposts. On the 24th of October, a boom of heavy logs chained together was thrown across the lake nearly opposite the Jersey redoubt. The two galleys were anchored in the channel, and by a concerted fire from these, the Jersey redoubt, and the batteries on Mount Independence, it was confidently expected that any attempt of the enemy to reach the rear of the American works by ascending the lake could be successfully repulsed. No alternative would thus be left them but to land on the west side of the lake below the American outposts, and assault the American position at the French lines, where they were prepared to receive it. To further embarrass the enemy a detachment of one hundred men from the Continental regiments of Brewer and Willard was sent out to cut down the trees across the Crown Point road. Officers and men on both sides of the lake were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to reinforce any point where their services should be most needed. The weather continued so wet and stormy, that half a gill of rum

was issued to every non-commissioned officer and soldier, morning and evening. Casks filled with water, and a supply of rum were kept constantly at the alarm posts, and every precaution was taken against surprise. Each man was kept constantly supplied with two days provisions ready cooked, and a quarter of a pound of buck-shot, which was all their limited supply could afford, and therefore all spears that could be spared from the vessels were distributed in the French lines and redoubts for use in a hand to hand encounter, in case the ammunition should give out. Every morning before day, the troops repaired to their alarm posts, where the Continental colors were advantageously displayed on the ramparts, and the cannon and spears kept in readiness for immediate action. General St. Clair's brigade was reinforced by the addition of Colonel Maxwell's Second New Jersey Regiment, which was detached from the second brigade on Mount Independence for that purpose. On October 25th, a floating bridge was built across the lake between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence to facilitate the communication between those posts. It was at this critical juncture that the supply of ammunition was received from Congress, six tons of powder, and a large quantity of lead and other ammunition. For some days prior thereto there were not two tons of powder in camp. "Carleton keeps very close at Crown Point, his navy at anchor on his flanks," wrote Gates to Schuyler on the 24th. "I have scouts constantly down both sides of the lake. I apprehend by this time his force is all collected, and expect this stillness will be succeeded immediately by a grand attack. Heaven grant he may be defeated! The army here are in good spirits and think only of victory." The scouts from below reported the enemy to be

in great force and in great activity, but as yet they had not interfered with the American communications on either side of the lake, though bands of their Indians came near enough to drive off a number of cattle.

It was ordered that in case of action, Surgeons Kennedy, Barnet, Taylor, Thacher, Silsby, and Packer, with their assistants, were to be in attendance at the old fort. Surgeons Johnston, Holmes, Alison, Harvey, and Stewart, with their assistants and all their instruments were to attend near Colonel Wayne's marquee, in the French lines. Guards were also placed over the bateaux which were kept constantly lying in the cove below the carpenter shop to carry the wounded, as soon as their wounds could be dressed, to the general hospital on Mount Independence, which was under the charge of Dr. Jonathan Potts and all the surgeons and surgeon's-mates on Mount Independence.

No less than eleven scouting parties were thrown out through the wilderness outlying between Ticonderoga and Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk, and also to the headwaters of the Hudson, to obtain early information of any movements the enemy might make in that direction.

The wind continued to blow steadily from the south for a fortnight, during which time General Brickett's Massachusetts brigade succeeded in covering themselves, in repairing the five old French redoubts in the low lands, and mounting four or five guns upon each of them.

Generals Gates, Arnold, and St. Clair accompanied their reports of the destruction of the fleet with an urgent call for ten thousand to fifteen thousand militia. When General Schuyler received their communications, he, sharing the common belief that an attack by the victorious British army upon the garrison of Ticonderoga

was imminent, wrote for aid to the New York Committee which was then in session at Fishkill, and the committee responded by calling out all the militia from Tryon, Charlotte, Cumberland, Gloucester, and Albany counties, and appointed a sub-committee of their body to repair to Albany and represent them in any emergency which might arise.

The Bennington committee, aided by Colonel Seth Warner, were also very zealous in stirring up the Green Mountain Boys and the yeomanry of the New Hampshire grants, and sending them forward to Ticonderoga.

General Schuyler also ordered General Petrus Ten Broeck to march up the New York militia under his command. He also ordered the militia from Fort Edward into Tryon county, to relieve Colonel Dayton's Third New Jersey regiment, and sent an express to that officer at Fort Schuyler, to hasten his march to reinforce the army at Ticonderoga. He marched at once, and reached Saratoga on the 28th. Here he was detained by one of those constantly recurring rumors that the Tories of Tryon county had gone to join Sir John Johnson, who was about to invade that country. He continued his march to Ticonderoga, after a short delay, and arrived there early in November. His regiment occupied the old fort, from which all the sick had been removed for their accommodation. Among the captains of Dayton's regiment was Joseph Bloomfield, afterwards member of Congress and Governor of New Jersey.

The militia from New England were directed to march over the Green mountains to Skenesborough. Those from Albany county were distributed by General Schuyler at Fort Miller, Fort Edward, Fort George, and such other posts as would be likely to secure the communications

with Ticonderoga. Thus the lower country was soon alive with the movements of armed men. The New England militia moved with alacrity. Eight regiments of them reached Ticonderoga under Colonels Robinson, one hundred and six men; Brownson, sixty-seven men; Hale, twenty-four men; Ashley, one hundred and seven men; Bellows, sixty-four men; Chase, fifty-four men; Robinson, one hundred and thirty-one men; and Hyde, two hundred and seventy-four men. The whole eight regiments only aggregated eight hundred and twenty-seven men, and more than one of them had half as many officers as privates in the ranks.

The New York militia moved up slowly and very reluctantly. Many of them positively refused to march to Ticonderoga, and they began to desert in large numbers.

Apprehensions began to spring up at this time that Ticonderoga was not sufficiently well stored with provisions to stand the siege which it might be called upon to undergo. The supply of flour on hand did not exceed one thousand barrels, which was barely enough for sixteen days. The beef, including that which was being driven up, was only sufficient to last until the 1st of November, and the mouths to be fed were daily increasing in number.

This condition of things gave Washington far more concern than the slow and reluctant manner in which the militia were marching to their assistance. Indeed, Washington's opinion of the militia generally was not flattering to them. "My experience of the many evils attending the calling in of a considerable body of raw militia," he wrote to General Schuyler on the 22d of October, "obliges me to give you my sentiments upon that head, and to tell you that I fear they will render you more

disservice than any real good. From their want of every necessary for a camp, when they join a regular army they commit an intolerable waste of stores, which once put into their hands can scarcely be regained, and are so much dead loss to the public; and for want of regularity in their drafts of ammunition, provision, and other necessities, they consume much more than it is convenient to spare from a garrison even near a source of supplies, much less from such a distance that it requires every exertion to keep up the magazines in the best of times. The vexation I have experienced from the humors and intolerable caprice of militia at a critical time makes me feel sensibly for the officer who is to depend on them in the day of trial. Instead of calling up a number of useless hands and mouths, for such I deem the militia generally, I would advise the collection of as much provision as can possibly be got together."

General Schuyler coincided with Washington in his opinion of the inefficiency of the militia. "I read with sensible satisfaction," he replied, "your judicious remarks on the militia. I assure you they are realized in this quarter. If General Gates was not so very importunate to have them at Ticonderoga, I should certainly dismiss many of them, as they move with much reluctance, and will neither assist in fortifying or mounting guard."

On the 25th of October, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, upon the recommendation of Congress, promoted Lieutenant-Colonel James Irvine, to be colonel of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, under the new Continental establishment; Major Anthony James Morris, to be lieutenant-colonel of De Haas' Regiment; Captain Jonathan Jones to be major of De Haas' Regiment, and Captain David Grier, to be major of Irvine's.

After the 25th, General Carleton transferred his headquarters from the Maria to Crown Point. The Hesse Hanau artillery, as has been mentioned, were the only German troops that accompanied the British army to Crown Point. The rest remained in Canada. General Riedesel, however, visited Crown Point, and approached near enough to Ticonderoga to view the American works from an eminence.

On the 27th the enemy's grenadiers, light infantry, and the twenty-fourth regiment, under General Fraser,*

*SIMON FRASER was a Scotchman by birth, and said to be the youngest son of Hugh of Balnain. He served in one of the Scotch regiments in the pay of Holland, and entered the British army as captain of the Second Highland Regiment, January 11th, 1757. He served with distinction in Germany, and was made major of the Twenty-fourth Regiment of Foot in March, 1761. He was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of this regiment in July, 1768, and accompanied it to Canada in 1776. He was made brigadier-general by Sir Guy Carleton, May 22d, 1776, and as such participated in the campaign of that year. He did not, however, rank as such in the British army, but only in the forces then engaged in Canada. He became colonel of his regiment, September 6th, 1777. He was the first to dash into Ticonderoga with his pickets, after its evacuation by St. Clair, on the 5th of July, 1777; pursued the retreating Americans, and defeated their rear guard at Hubbardtown. He took a conspicuous part in the battles of September 19th and October 7th, 1777. In the latter engagement, while mounted upon an iron grey horse, a bullet cut the crupper of his horse, and another grazed his mane. "You are singled out general," said his aide de camp. "You had better shift your ground." "My duty forbids me to fly from danger," was his reply. A moment afterwards he was shot down by Timothy Murphy, of Northumberland, Pennsylvania, a sharpshooter of Morgan's corps, posted in a tree. He was carried into the Baroness Riedesel's house about four o'clock in the afternoon, and learning that his wound was mortal, said if General Burgoyne would permit it he should like to be buried at six o'clock in the evening on the top of the mountain, in the redoubt which he had built there. He died at eight o'clock on the morning of the 8th, and, though the retreat was delayed by it, at six on the evening of the same day he was followed to the mountain by the generals, where, Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain, read the burial service over his remains. The Americans, seeing indistinctly, what in the twilight appeared to be a movement of troops up the hill and in the redoubt, opened a cannonade upon them, by which the dust was frequently thrown over those who were assembled around the grave. General Gates stated afterwards, that had he known of the burial, the cannonading should have been instantly stopped. "To the canvas," wrote General Burgoyne, "and to the faithful page of a more important historian, gallant friend, I consign thy memory. There may thy talents, thy manly virtues, their progress, and their period, find due distinction."

advanced as far as Putnam's Point, nine miles below Ticonderoga, on the west side of the lake, where they formed an advance post behind Putnam's Creek, under the guns of their vessels which had sailed up the lake. Their scouts of Indians and Canadians came near enough to the American lines to capture in the night two men who were carrying a sick soldier to the landing on Lake George on his way to the hospital. They killed the sick soldier and took the two men prisoners to the British camp. They were immediately released by General Carleton, and upon their return reported that they had witnessed such activity in the camp of the enemy as indicated an immediate attack. The British scouts also captured one of the New England militia who had ventured too far outside the lines.

One-half of the troops at Ticonderoga, who by this time had arrived at a high state of discipline, were ordered to be alert all night, and the other half to sleep upon their arms. Scarcely time enough was given the men to eat their meals. The advance posts and guards were doubled, and at night officers and men alike slept in their clothes.

Richard Stockton and George Clymer, a committee appointed by Congress to confer with General Gates upon the state of the Northern army, were present at Ticonderoga during these days as witnesses of the courage, vigilance, and suffering of the troops. They were greatly distressed at their forlorn condition at that severe season of the year, many of them being still barefooted and bare legged, "My heart melts," wrote Richard Stockton, "for my brave countrymen who are thus venturing their lives in the public service, and yet are so distressed. There is not a single shoe or stocking to be had in this part of the world, or I should ride a hundred

miles through the woods and purchase them with my own money, for you'll consider that the weather here must be very different from that in New Jersey. It is very cold now I assure you." "We continued at Ticonderoga," they wrote to Congress from Albany on the 30th of November, "in hourly expectation of sharing in the glory of our army in a successful opposition to the attack of General Carleton, but we were disappointed, and instead thereof, had the pleasure of knowing that he had totally evacuated Crown Point."

CHAPTER XVI.

The Alarm Guns Announce the Approach of the British—The Americans promptly Man the Fortifications—Landing of British Troops on Three-Mile Point—A Reconnaissance by British Gunboats—An Assault upon the Works Imminent—The British Troops Retire Without Striking a Blow—Further Suspense—Detachments sent by Gates to "beat up" the Enemy's advance post—The British Army Retreats into Canada—Gates Dismisses the Militia and Details a Permanent Garrison for Ticonderoga—Departure of the First Pennsylvania and First and Second New Jersey Regiments—Their March Southward—Departure of General Gates with Bond's, Porter's, Reed's, Bedel's, Stark's, Poor's, Groaton's, and Patterson's, Regiments—Their March to Reinforce Washington's Army—Departure of other Troops from Ticonderoga—Dispatches for General Carleton which failed to reach him—Causes of the Retreat—Return of General Burgoyne to England—Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne—Washington visits Ticonderoga—Conclusion.

ON Monday morning the 28th of October, the booming of the alarm gun on the advanced guard-boat down the lake, announced that the enemy were in motion. By a preconcerted arrangement this gun was instantly followed by another from the Jersey redoubt, which was followed by another from the main battery in the French lines, and still another, in quick succession, from the semi-circular redoubt on Mount Independence. The reverberations of these alarm guns had not died out in the neighboring hills, before every man who could carry a musket was in line, marching with a firm and confident step to the intrenchments. "Nothing could exceed," wrote General Gates, "the spirit and alertness which was shown by all officers and soldiers in executing every order that was given." They had done days and nights of hard and

vigilant duty, lest this signal should come upon them un-awares. It found them ready. In a few minutes every man was at his post, coolly, confidently, and courageously awaiting the enemy's approach. It was a beautiful autumn day and the thousand forest tints were just dying out of the beautiful landscape about them. In an hour five of the enemy's largest gun-boats appeared in sight, and landed troops, including Indians and Canadians, on Three-Mile Point, on the west side of the lake, half an hour's march from the American alarm post. Two of the gun-boats then proceeded up the lake, inclining toward the eastern shore for the purpose of avoiding the Jersey redoubt on the eastern point of Ticonderoga. They approached within three-quarters of a mile when a fire was opened upon them from the redoubt, and also from the row-galley Trumbull, stationed over the boom. One shot took effect, killing two men, after which the boats hastily withdrew. Thirteen small bateaux and birch canoes, bearing troops, also crossed from Three-Mile Point to the east side of the lake, and landed the men about four miles below the redoubts on Mount Independence. It was believed that this party intended to occupy the point of land directly opposite the stone redoubts on the eastern point of Ticonderoga where the lake is less than half a mile wide and engage the redoubts from there. These movements indicated that the enemy were concentrating their main force on the west side of the lake, as was expected, and contemplated an immediate attack upon the French lines and redoubts. The regimental colors were stuck in the top of the earthworks there, and were floating defiantly in the October breeze. General Gates immediately ordered Poor's, Reed's, and Groaton's regiments to cross the lake

from Mount Independence and reinforce the troops in the French lines and redoubts. The order was obeyed with alacrity and dispatch. The guard-boat was ordered in. The nature of the country permitted the enemy to have a full view of the whole of the American works and the troops that defended them. "Ticonderoga," writes Colonel John Trumbull, the Adjutant-General, "must have had a very imposing aspect that day when viewed from the lake. The whole summit of cleared land on both sides of the lake was crowded with redoubts and batteries, all manned, with a splendid show of artillery and flags. The number of our troops under arms on that day (principally, however, militia,) exceeded thirteen thousand." Upwards of one hundred pieces of heavy cannon were mounted on the works.

In this state of uncertainty and anticipation, the situation remained all day, when the enemy withdrew. About four o'clock they began to re-embark their troops, and the thirteen boats and canoes returned with the troops from the eastern shore of the lake. By sunset it was observed that the body of the enemy had retired. The guard-boat was ordered to resume its place, and General Gates thanked the troops "for the alert and spirited manner with which they prepared to face the enemy."

The British advance post, consisting of all the light infantry, grenadiers, and a large body of Indians and Canadians, was still maintained behind Putnam's Creek, and three large vessels remained at anchor off Putnam's Point. The British also still continued their occupation of Chimney and Crown Points.

An attack was still daily expected, and the troops at Ticonderoga were kept constantly supplied with two

days' cooked provisions. The same state of suspense and vigilance was prolonged throughout the entire week following, day and night.

On Saturday evening, the 2d of November, at eight o'clock (the American works having been completed and placed in the best possible order), a detachment of four hundred men under Major James Dunlop of the Sixth Pennsylvania was sent down the west side of the lake, and simultaneously, a detachment of five hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Conner, of Connecticut, was sent down the east side of the lake for the purpose of "beating up" the enemy's advance post at Putnam's Creek, and the side of the lake opposite. They were provided with three days' cooked provisions. It was their intention to have attacked the enemy on Sunday morning. They found both posts abandoned. Major Dunlop took possession of Putnam's Point. They reported that they saw the enemy embarking, a vessel with live stock on board still remaining to protect the retreat. The last of the British troops abandoned Crown Point at ten o'clock on Monday morning, November 4th, leaving behind them evidences of precipitation. On the day the British evacuated Crown Point there was not a barrel of flour in the storehouse at Ticonderoga, and for a week thereafter a daily supply of only twenty to thirty barrels was drawn from the stores at Bennington by land.

General Carleton, with the fleet, sailed down the lake and anchored in the vicinity of St. John's. Here the fleet was dismantled and prepared to withstand the rigors of a Canadian winter. The troops went into winter quarters in the settlements along the Sorel and St. Lawrence, and not a British soldier remained in front of the Northern army on American soil. Two or three of them were

quartered in each of the houses of those inhabitants who had been loyal to the crown, and a greater number upon those who had sympathized with the colonies. The troops were obliged to gather their own fuel. Their rations were furnished to them raw, and such things as they obtained from their hosts they were obliged to pay for. From these quarters they emerged in the following spring to embark upon the expedition which ended in the surrender of Burgoyne.

When General Gates learned that the British had evacuated Crown Point, he dispatched Colonel Wigglesworth down the lake to Isle aux Noix with a flag of truce for the purpose of obtaining definite information of the designs of the enemy. Being thus reliably advised of the British retreat into Canada, he dismissed the militia, and detailed about fourteen hundred men, consisting of St. Clair's, Wayne's, and Irvine's, Pennsylvania; Dayton's New Jersey; Burrell's Connecticut, and Whitcomb's Massachusetts regiments, as the permanent garrison of Ticonderoga, under command of Colonel Wayne. He ordered the First Pennsylvania Regiment, then numbering four hundred and seventy-two men, and the First and Second New Jersey Regiments, with Generals St. Clair and Maxwell, to embark on Lake George for their homes at sunrise on the morning of the 15th of November. The earth was then frozen hard and ice was beginning to form on the lakes. They marched to Albany, and from there descended the Hudson on sloops to New Windsor.

In the meantime Washington sent pressing orders for them to join his army. Schuyler, therefore, countermanded the orders to march to their homes, and ordered them to join Washington with all possible dispatch. It

was one of the conditions of their re-enlistment under the new establishment that they should be allowed to visit their homes before again engaging in active service. The regimental order at the time of their re-enlistment at Ticonderoga, being that they should receive "a full assurance of returning to Pennsylvania as soon as the enemy are defeated, which the colonel hopes will be in a few days, perhaps in a few hours." "I shall not fail to do everything in my power to inspirit the troops," wrote General St. Clair, in reply to Schuyler's orders, "but I doubt very much that they will not easily be kept together. I hope to get them to General Washington's army, and if they once come in sight of the enemy they will be satisfied." From New Windsor, the First Pennsylvania Regiment marched by the way of Haverstraw and Pompton to Morristown, New Jersey, and from there continued their march to Pluckamin, about thirty miles north of Trenton, at which place they arrived about the 3d of December.

Washington, who was then at Trenton with his army, ordered them to halt at Pluckamin, and to be kept together, if they could possibly be prevailed upon to do so, until further orders. They marched to New Germantown, six miles to the west, where on the 8th they mustered only forty-seven rank and file fit for duty, and seventeen sick. On the same day the rear of Washington's army crossed to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The advance division of the British army under General Howe reached the Delaware at Trenton a few hours after Washington's army had crossed, and the rear division under Lord Cornwallis reached the river at Coryell's Ferry (now Lambertville) on the next day. Washington having collected or destroyed all the boats,

their further progress was arrested at this point. The hilly country to the north remained in the occupation of the Americans. General Sullivan, with Lee's division of the American army, was at New Germantown when Lee was captured at Baskingridge on the 13th.

On a return of his officers, dated Philadelphia, January 10th, 1777, Colonel de Haas made the following endorsement:—"This is to certify that during the time I had the honor to command the above gentlemen, they behaved themselves like gentlemen, and as became good soldiers."

Toward the close of November, General Gates left Ticonderoga, with Bond's, Porter's, Reed's, Bedel's, Stark's, Poor's, Greateon's, and Patterson's regiments for the purpose of reinforcing General Washington's army, which was then on its retreat across the Jerseys, reduced to three thousand men. They descended the Hudson in boats from Albany to Esopus, and marched from there to Sussex Court House, in New Jersey. Greateon's, Bond's, and Porter's marched from Sussex to Morristown, where they remained under command of General Maxwell, for the protection of the surrounding country which had been abandoned by the militia. General Gates, with Reed's, Bedel's, Stark's, Poor's, and Patterson's regiments crossed the Delaware above Easton and marched to Bethlehem where they were joined by Lee's division under General Sullivan, which had marched from New Germantown, and crossed the Delaware at Easton. Together these troops joined Washington's army at his camp above Trenton Falls, on the 20th of December.

Wingate's and Wyman's New Hampshire regiments left Ticonderoga for Number Four by the new road which had been opened from Mount Independence to Rutland. Swift's and Mott's Connecticut regiments marched for

their homes by the Skenesborough and Bennington road by which they had come. Brewer's, Willard's, Read's, Wigglesworth's, and Phinney's Massachusetts regiments marched down to Albany and from there to their homes by the way of Hadley on the Connecticut river. Wheelock's, and Woodbridge's Massachusetts regiments, not being able to obtain bateaux for transportation across Lake George, went home on November 25th, by the way of Skenesborough and Number Four.

Thus ended the Northern campaign of 1776, "an enterprise," writes a distinguished historian, "bold in its conception, daring and hardy in its execution; full of ingenious expedients, and hazardous exploits; and which, had not unforeseen circumstances counteracted its well-devised plans, might have added all Canada to the American confederacy."

Generals Burgoyne and Phillips had strongly advocated an attack upon Ticonderoga and resisted the evacuation of Crown Point, but were over-ruled by General Carleton, the wisest soldier of them all. Though greatly depressed in spirit at the result of the campaign, he had determined to send the army into winter-quarters in Canada. The demonstration of the 28th of October was not with the intention of making an attack upon the Americans, but was rather a reconnaissance in force made in the hope that, discouraged by the loss of their fleet, they would be driven by such a display of force upon his part to evacuate the place. Little did he understand his enemy. Disappointed at his failure, he at once made preparations to withdraw his forces down the lake, and on the 15th went himself to his winter residence at Quebec.

Sir Guy Carleton had sent his aid-de-camp, Captain

Le Maitre, to England, with dispatches, in one of the vessels which had brought out the reinforcements in June. On the 22d of August, Lord George Germain had sent a dispatch to Sir Guy Carleton by this officer, who sailed from Falmouth, in the packet *Swallow*, on the 1st of September. He succeeded in getting into the gulf of St. Lawrence three times, but owing to adverse winds he found it impossible to ascend to Quebec. He therefore returned to England carrying the dispatch with him. It directed that as soon as Carleton had succeeded in driving the Americans out of Canada, he should return to Quebec, taking with him such portions of the army as he should deem sufficient for the defence of the province, and detach Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, or such other officer as he should think proper, with the remainder of the troops, "and direct the officer so detached to proceed with all possible expedition to join General Howe and put himself under his command." Had that dispatch reached its destination, Burgoyne would doubtless have hurled his well-equipped legions against the works at Ticonderoga and been repulsed with frightful slaughter. The result of the campaign would in all probability have been the same, but by this action of the elements it was accomplished without the shedding of blood.

On the 24th of October, Sir Guy Carleton, wrote to Lord George Germain as follows:—"The season is so far advanced that I can not yet pretend to inform your lordship whether anything further can be done this season." The lateness of the season was not the cause of his failure. It was only a pretext with which Carleton sought to forestall the unfavorable impression which the news of his retreat was sure to produce upon the government at home. He only used it to prepare the way with them

for the reception of the news of that event. It deceived no one, not even himself. Two months later Washington's little army, including many of the troops who were then at Ticonderoga, passed the Delaware through the ice and, leaving their blood in their frozen tracks, marched against the Hessians at Trenton, retrieved the fortunes of the war, and regained New Jersey. From the time the British army reached St. Johns on the 19th of June, there remained but one issue between the contending armies—the control of the way to the Hudson. The British army was fresh from Europe, well supplied and equipped in everything. The American army had endured the hardships of a winter campaign, and was wasted by disease, famine, nakedness, and defeat. Yet notwithstanding this disparity between them the Americans conquered their misfortunes, and on the 3d of September had their fleet at the northern end of Lake Champlain, almost within the British lines, and with two months of the finest campaigning weather of the year before them. The Americans during all this time were in constant expectation of an attack from the British, and their delay was a continued source of surprise and perplexity to them. The true cause of Carleton's retreat was a want of confidence in his ability to carry the American works, and a dread of the consequences of defeat. He had come with all the pomp and circumstance of war to the very gates of the fortress, and when defied by the troops that held it, he retired hastily beyond the waters of the lake, knowing as he did that any attempt upon the works must result in fearful loss of life, if not in the destruction of his army. Had he adopted any other course, the fate of Abercrombie's legions might have been repeated.

General Burgoyne* returned to England toward the close of the year with news of the failure of the expedition, and the retreat of the army to Canada. This unwelcome intelligence occasioned so much disappointment and dissatisfaction that both Carleton and Burgoyne were in great disfavor with the government. Lord George Germain stigmatized the campaign as "operations conducted without sense or vigor." He had expected far different results. When he heard that the siege of Quebec had been raised, and had issued a gazette extraordinary announcing that event, he sat down and wrote to Governor Tryon, in the exultation of the

* JOHN BURGOYNE was the natural son of Lord Bingley, and adopted the profession of arms at a very early age. He eloped while a lieutenant, with a daughter of the Earl of Derby. He served as a captain in France. In August, 1759, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Sixteenth Regiment of Light Dragoons, and served in 1761 at Belle Isle. In 1762 he was made brigadier-general, and sent with a force to join Count Lippe, in Portugal, to fight against Spain. In that campaign he distinguished himself by the surprise and capture of Valentia d'Alcantara. He was elected to Parliament from the borough of Middlesex, and made major-general in 1772. He was in Parliament when the American Revolution began, and obeyed a summons to take part in it with the rank of lieutenant-general. He landed at Boston in time to witness the battle of Bunker's Hill, and praised the Americans for the courage and ability displayed by them on that memorable day. He returned to England and sailed for Canada, in April, 1776. He again returned to England at the close of the campaign of that year, and came back to Canada in the spring of 1777 to undertake the expedition which resulted in his surrender to General Gates, at Saratoga, in October, 1777. Upon his return to England after that disaster he was denied an audience of the King, and refused a court-martial. He was again elected to Parliament from Preston in Lancashire, and was one of the managers for conducting the impeachment of Warren Hastings. After the close of the American war he was made commander-in-chief in Ireland. He resigned this position two years later, and devoted the remainder of his life to literary pursuits. He possessed considerable literary vanity. Horace Walpole ridiculed his early literary efforts, but was obliged to admit that his later comedy "The Heiress," possessed decided merit. He was tall, handsome, and graceful in manner, but, though his career was conspicuous and brilliant, he was not great in either civil, or military life. His polished manners and accomplishments made him a great favorite in society, and he was one of the most fashionable gentlemen of his day. His successful and fortunate career came to a dismal close in his humiliating surrender at Saratoga, from the effects of which his reputation never recovered. He died June 4th, 1792.



J. B. Bourgoyne

moment, that he had no doubt Crown Point and Ticonderoga would be restored to his Majesty's possession before the campaign was ended. He was in no humor, therefore, to welcome Burgoyne, and it was some time before the King would grant him an audience.

Too great measure of praise and gratitude can not be meted out to this heroic little American army, which, in so short a time, and under so many disadvantages, had arisen out of its own ashes, and turned back the same proud British army which under the same officers perished in fire and blood at Saratoga, in the following year. It was then quite as numerous as it was at Saratoga, quite as well if not better equipped, quite as boastful and defiant. It was flushed with the victory on the lake which had destroyed the American fleet, and given it undisputed control of the waters of Champlain. It was bent upon the same mission of forming a junction with the British army in New York under Howe, and by thus controlling the water line from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to New York bay, to effectually sever all communication between the eastern colonies and those to the south.

Had Carleton not been compelled, by the defiant front presented by the American forces at Ticonderoga, to stay the blow which he had lifted his hand to strike, history would now record as bloody if not a bloodier scene there, and the story of Saratoga might never have been told. Gates, who was popular with the army, was there prepared to meet the issue then, as at Saratoga. Schuyler had not then been unjustly and ungenerously superseded by Congress. Arnold was there ready to surpass, if possible, his brilliant achievements at Saratoga, for his relations with Gates were then more cordial. John Stark was there, also, to anticipate, if it had been necessary,

under more favorable auspices (for he had not then been driven from the army by the ingratitude of Congress) his brilliant victory at Bennington. Enoch Poor was there also; and in addition to this brilliant array of names, which acquired new lustre at Saratoga instead of acquiring it there, they had among them the gallant and fearless Anthony Wayne.

An eminent writer, in speaking of those times which tried men's souls, has said that "all the defeats, indeed, all the struggles, the battles, the sacrifices, the sufferings at all times, and in every colony, were indispensable to the great result—all essential lights and shades in the immortal picture." "The severest trials of the Revolution," writes another, "in fact, were not in the field, where there were shouts to excite and laurels to be won, but in the squalid wretchedness of ill-provided camps, where there was nothing to cheer and everything to be endured. To suffer was the lot of the Revolutionary soldier."

Though posterity does not recall with the same interest, and the historian has not felt it to be necessary to dwell upon this bloodless victory at Ticonderoga and the sad events which preceded it, with the same detail that the glory of Saratoga is recorded, yet in sufferings and sacrifices, as well as in results, it was one of the most important victories of the war. No one will now admit that if those brave, vigilant, and poorly-clad men had not successfully stood in the intrenchments at Ticonderoga day and night through those bleak autumn weeks, ready to shed their blood in defence of their liberties, the result would have been fatal to the cause of American Independence. There can be little doubt, however, that it would greatly have embarrassed that cause, at a time when it already had more than it could bear; indeed,

that it would have prolonged the struggle, if it had not crushed it outright for the time being. If Carleton had defeated them, and Ticonderoga had been evacuated, as it was in the following year, Congress, which had fled to Baltimore, and the colonists, who were then entering upon the darkest days of the whole struggle, would not have been as able to prevent him from going into winter quarters at Albany, as they were to prevent Burgoyne in the following year. Washington, with his weak and dissolving army, then fleeing across New Jersey before the victorious British forces, would not have been as able to send them reinforcements, and to prevent Howe and Cornwallis from co-operating with Sir Henry Clinton by engaging their attention with the army of Brandywine and Germantown, as he was in the following year. Moreover, Washington would not then have received the reinforcements which enabled him to regain New Jersey.

The repulse of Carleton was the only event which shed a ray of hope upon the dark despondency of that fall. It not only effectually disposed of a great danger from the north, but it turned the tide of fortune in favor of the American arms to the south by releasing the troops that enabled Washington to strike the successful blow at Trenton.

The confidence inspired by the repulse of Carleton, doubtless led to the supineness which enabled Burgoyne to advance, without resistance, to the Hudson in 1777.

In July, 1783, whilst awaiting the arrival of the definitive treaty of peace, Washington, accompanied by Governor Clinton, visited Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and examined with interest each spot made memorable by the events that have just been recited. He was thus among the first of the long line of pilgrims who have followed in the century that has since elapsed.

The story of the sufferings, the zeal, the patience, the patriotism, the perseverance, and the valor of the men who won this victory at Ticonderoga, should be held in grateful remembrance by their countrymen to the latest generation. Like the story of Valley Forge, it is not told in startling deeds of blood. Though but few had perished by the sword, yet five thousand who had gone out at the call of their country never returned. More than one out of every three became the victims of pestilence, want, and exposure, and many of those who passed through the campaign, came out of it with broken constitutions to fill premature graves.

APPENDIX.

OFFICERS OF THE

FIRST PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT

In the Regular Continental Army.

Field Officers:

Colonel, JOHN PHILIP DE HAAS.
Lieutenant-Colonel, . . . JAMES IRVINE.
Major, ANTHONY JAMES MORRIS.

Staff:

Chaplain, DANIEL MCCALLA.
Adjutant, JOHN PATTERSON.
Quartermaster, . . . JACOB SHALLUS.
Surgeon, ROBERT BOYD, *Resigned April 19, '76.*
Surgeon, BENJAMIN ALISON, *June 13, 1776.*
Surgeon's Mate, . . . NICHOLAS SCULL.

Captains:

1. Jonathan Jones,
2. William Williams,
3. Josiah Harmar,
4. Marien Lamar,
5. Thomas Dorsey,
6. William Jenkins,
7. Augustin Willet,
8. Benjamin Davis,
9. John Nelson.

First Lieutenants:

1. Samuel Watson,
2. Jacob Ashmead,
3. Peter Hughes,
4. Adam Hubley,
5. John Rees,
6. Frederick Blankenberg,
7. Richard Stanly,
8. John Morgan,
9. William Oldham.

Second Lieutenants :

1. Roger Stayner, Jr.,
2. George Jenkins,
3. Christian Staddel,
4. Amos Wilkinson,
5. John Ellis,
6. Samuel Tolbert,
7. Peter Gossner,
8. John Cobe, ,
9. Adam Ott.

Ensigns :

1. Philip Clumberg, Jr.,
2. Jacob Ziegler.
3. Thomas Ryerson,
4. William Moore,
5. Joseph Greenway,
6. John Irwin,
7. John Brice,
8. Benjamin Rice,
9. Robert McCollom.

OFFICERS OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ARTILLERY.

<i>Captain,</i>	.	.	.	.	BERNARD ROMANS.
<i>Captain Lieutenant,</i>	.				GIBBS JONES.
<i>First Lieutenant,</i>	.	.	.		MATTHEW WHITLOW.
<i>Second Lieutenant,</i>	.	.	.		NATHANIEL DONNELL.
<i>Third Lieutenant,</i>	.	.	.		THOMAS BARR.
<i>Conductor,</i>	.	.	.	.	ANDREW CALDWELL.

OFFICERS OF THE
SECOND PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT

In the Regular Continental Army.

Field Officers :

Colonel, ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.
Lieutenant-Colonel, . . . WILLIAM ALLEN, JR.
Major, JOSEPH WOOD.

Staff :

Adjutant, GEORGE ROSS.
Quartermaster, JAMES ARMSTRONG.
Surgeon, SAMUEL MCKINZIE.
Chaplain, DANIEL MCCALLA.
Paymaster BENJAMIN FISHBOURNE.
Drum Major, JOHN HALL.

Captains :

1. Samuel Watson.
2. Rudolph Bunner.
3. Thomas Craig.
4. William Butler.
5. Stephen Bayard.
6. John Brisban.
7. John Reese.
8. John Huling.

First Lieutenants :

1. John Chilton.
2. Thomas L. Moore.
3. Andrew Kachlein.
4. Thomas Butler.
5. James Chrystie.
6. John Gross.
7. Samuel Moore.
8. William Burd.

Second Lieutenants :

1. James Montgomery.
2. Ezra Bartleson.
3. John Craig.
4. Charles Seitz.
5. Isaac Budd Dunn.
6. William Chambers.
- 7.
8. Ross Currie.

Ensigns :

1. Benjamin Miller.
2. George Ross.
3. Thomas Park.
4. George McCully.
5. James Black.
6. John Evans.
7. Henry Eppley.
8. William Craig.

OFFICERS OF THE
FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT

In the Regular Continental Army.

Field Officers :

Colonel,	ANTHONY WAYNE.
Lieutenant-Colonel, . .	FRANCIS JOHNSTON.
Major,	NICHOLAS HAUSSEGER.

Staff :

Adjutant,	MICHAEL RYAN.
Quartermaster, . . .	JOHN HARPER.
Surgeon,	SAMUEL KENNEDY.
Chaplain,	DAVID JONES.
Paymaster,	JAMES HUNTER.

Captains :

1. Thomas Robinson.
2. Thomas Church.
3. John Lacey.
4. Persifor Frazer.
5. James Taylor.
6. Caleb North.
7. James Moore.
8. Frederick Vernon.

First Lieutenants :

1. John Christie.
2. James R. Reid.
3. Samuel Smith.
4. Benjamin Bartholomew.
5. Michael Kimmell.
6. Joseph Potts.
7. John Williamson.
8. Alexander Johnston.

Second Lieutenants :

1. William Moulder.
2. Charles C. Beatty.
3. Michael Ryan.
4. Isaac Seely.
5. Thomas Boude.
6. Alexander McClintock.
7. Robert Gregg.
8. Charles McHenry.

Ensigns :

1. Thomas Wallace.
2. Job Vernbn.
3. John Barckley.
4. Levi Griffith.
5. Ezekiel Letts.
6. Jacob Funk.
7. John Wallace.
8. Joseph Standley.

OFFICERS OF THE
SIXTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT

In the Regular Continental Army.

Field Officers :

Colonel,	.	.	.	WILLIAM IRVINE.
Lieutenant Colonel,	.	.	.	THOMAS HARTLEY.
Major,	.	.	.	JAMES DUNLOP.

Staff :

Adjutant,	.	.	.	JOHN BROOKS.
Quartermaster,	.	.	.	JAMES CALDERWOOD.
Surgeon,	.	.	.	ROBERT JOHNSTON.
Surgeon's Mate,	.	.	.	JOHN McDOWELL.
Chaplain,	.	.	.	WILLIAM LINN.

Captains :

1. Samuel Hay.
2. Robert Adams.
3. Abraham Smith.
4. William Rippey.
5. James A. Wilson.
6. David Grier.
7. Moses McClean.
8. Jeremiah Talbot.

First Lieutenants :

1. John Grier.
2. William Bratton.
3. Robert White.
4. William Alexander.
5. Lewis Bush.
6. John McDowell.
7. John Edie.
8. John McDonald.

Second Lieutenants :

1. Alexander Parker.
2. Samuel McFerren.
3. John Alexander.
4. John Brooks.
5. Robert Wilson.
6. Abdiel McAlister.
7. John Hoge.
8. Alexander Brown.

Ensigns :

1. William Miller.
2. John Murray.
3. Samuel Montgomery.
4. William Lusk.
5. Joseph Culbertson.
6. William Nichols.
7. Robert Hopes.
8. William Graham.

Andrew Irvine, *vice* John Alexander, promoted March 23d, 1776.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE FIELD OFFICERS
OF THE
TWELVE PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENTS

In the Regular Continental Army, January, 1777.

FIRST REGIMENT.

Colonel, EDWARD HAND.
Lieutenant-Colonel, JAMES CHAMBERS.
Major, JAMES ROSS.

SECOND REGIMENT.

Colonel, JOHN PHILIP DE HAAS.
Lieutenant-Colonel, ANTHONY JAMES MORRIS.
Major, JONATHAN JONES.

THIRD REGIMENT.

Colonel, JOSEPH WOOD.
Lieutenant-Colonel, THOMAS CRAIG.
Major, WILLIAM BUTLER.

FOURTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, LAMBERT CADWALADER.
Lieutenant-Colonel, DANIEL BRODHEAD.
Major, WILLIAM WEST, JR.

FIFTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, ANTHONY WAYNE.
Lieutenant-Colonel, FRANCIS JOHNSTON.
Major, PERSIFOR FRAZER.

SIXTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, ROBERT MAGAW.
Lieutenant-Colonel, HENRY BICKER.
Major, JOHN BEATTY.

SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, WILLIAM IRVINE.
Lieutenant-Colonel, THOMAS HARTLEY.
Major, DAVID GRIER.

EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, AENEAS MACKEY.
Lieutenant-Colonel, GEORGE WILSON.
Major, RICHARD BUTLER.

NINTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, JAMES IRVINE.
Lieutenant-Colonel, GEORGE NAGEL.
Major, JOHN PATTON.

TENTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, JOSEPH PENROSE.
Lieutenant-Colonel, JAMES DUNLOP.
Major, HENRY BICKER.

ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, RICHARD HUMPTON.
Lieutenant-Colonel, FRANCIS GURNEY.
Major, FRANCIS MENTGES.

TWELFTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, WILLIAM COOKE.
Lieutenant-Colonel, NEIGAL GRAY.
Major, JAMES CRAWFORD.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE FIELD OFFICERS
OF THE
TWELVE PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENTS

In the Regular Continental Army, March 12th, 1777.

FIRST REGIMENT.

Colonel, EDWARD HAND.
Lieutenant-Colonel, . . . JAMES ROSS.
Major, HENRY MILLER.

SECOND REGIMENT.

Colonel, JAMES IRVINE.
Lieutenant-Colonel, . . . JONATHAN JONES.
Major, WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

THIRD REGIMENT.

Colonel, JOSEPH WOOD.
Lieutenant-Colonel, . . . THOMAS CRAIG.
Major, JOSIAH HARMAR.

FOURTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, LAMBERT CADWALADER.
Lieutenant-Colonel, . . . WILLIAM BUTLER.
Major, MARIEN LAMAR.

FIFTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, FRANCIS JOHNSTON.
Lieutenant-Colonel, . . . PERSIFOR FRAZER.
Major, THOMAS ROBINSON.

SIXTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, ROBERT MAGAW.
Lieutenant-Colonel, HENRY BICKER.
Major, SAMUEL BENEZET.

SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, WILLIAM IRVINE.
Lieutenant-Colonel, DAVID GRIER.
Major, SAMUEL HAY.

EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, DANIEL BRODHEAD.
Lieutenant-Colonel, RICHARD BUTLER.
Major, STEPHEN BAYARD.

NINTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, ANTHONY JAMES MORRIS.
Lieutenant-Colonel, GEORGE NAGEL.
Major, MATTHEW SMITH.

TENTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, JAMES CHAMBERS.
Lieutenant-Colonel, ADAM HUBLEY, JR.
Major, CALEB NORTH.

ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, RICHARD HUMPTON.
Lieutenant-Colonel, FRANCIS GURNEY.
Major, FRANCIS MENTGES.

TWELFTH REGIMENT.

Colonel, WILLIAM COOKE,
Lieutenant-Colonel, NEIGAL GRAY.
Major, JAMES CRAWFORD.

IN CONGRESS.

The DELEGATES of the UNITED COLONIES of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, and Georgia.

To Jonathan Jones, Esquire,

WE reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, DO by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be a *Captain in the Pennsylvania Battalion* in the Army of the United Colonies, raised for the Defence of *American Liberty* and for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of *Captain* by doing and performing all Manner of Things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command to be obedient to your Orders as *Captain*. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congress, for that Purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United Colonies, or any other your superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congress. Philadelphia, *October 25th, 1775.*

By Order of the Congress.

Attest, CHAS. THOMSON, Secy.

John Hancock PRESIDENT.

[A Commission before the Declaration of Independence.]

IN CONGRESS.

THE DELEGATES of the UNITED STATES of *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia* TO *Jonathan Jones, Esquire.*

WE, repoling especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, DO, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be *Major of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot*

in the Army of the United States, raised for the Defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of *Major*

charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as by doing and performing all manner of Things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly

Major And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United States, or Committee of Congress, for that Purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United States, or any other your superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congress. DATED at Philadelphia, *October 25th, 1776.*

By Order of the CONGRESS.

John Hancock PRESIDENT.

Attest, CHAS. THOMSON, Secy.

[*A Commission after the Declaration of Independence.*]

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